DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 191 343	HE 012 675
TITLE	U 90: Danish Educational Planning and Policy in a Social Context at the End of the 20th Century.
INSTITUTION	Ministry of Education, Copenhagen (Denmark).
PUB DATE	78
NOTE	367p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Schultz Forlag, Montergade 21, 1116 Copenhagen K, Denmark ($13.40)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Access to Education: Educational Change: *Educational Planning: *Educational Policy: *Educational Trends: Elementary Secondary Education: Equal Education: *Foreign Countries: Futures (of Society): Higher Education: *Social Influences: Teacher Characteristics
IDENTIFIERS	*Denmark

ABSTRACT

Educational planning and policy in Denmark are considered, and the present educational system, as well as the many innovations and changes in recent years, are covered. An account is made of the factors influencing the flow of students in the system, including the imbalances and inequalities that characterize the society as a whole. Additional topics are the characteristics and attitudes of teachers, expected educational policy of the 1990s and likely social and economic developments, inequalities and approaches to an equality policy, proposals for reforms concerning the content, methods, and structure of the educational system, means and possibilities of management of the educational system which the public authorities have, and social costs to be paid to carry through suggested reforms. Diverging opinions concerning specific issues are also included. Appendices contain reports on: factors determining choice of education, participation in continued schooling and the problem of the residual group, acceptance of students for course of study, total income during working life, the basis for educational policy formulation for the future, projecting future Danish societal developments, and a statement of the Ministry of Education on the educational planning and policy "U 90 Report." A summary in French is included. (SW)

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U90

Danish Educational Planning and Policy in a Social Context at the End of the 20th Century

By the Central Council of Education

Ministry of Education 1978

HE012 675

Un 00-59d

ISBN 87-569-6575-3

J. H. SCHULTZ A/S
KØBENHAVN

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The title of this report, U-90, is an abbreviation of the Danish word for 'education' – *u*ddannelse, and the period covered by the report, namely the period up to 1990.

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Chapter I

Introduction

1. 'What we need is a report on the educational policy of the Danish nation for the next 15 years – an account of what society must and can do about the various courses of education – a weighing of goals and resources which makes it possible for us to see the totality and the interrelationship in what we are to do. The need for this will be evident – it will almost be a requirement as a guidance and clarification for politicians and the Ministry, and as basis for debate and information to the public.'

These were the words of Mrs. Ritt Bjerregaard, Minister of Education, in May 1975 when she requested the Central Council of Education to prepare a long-term plan for the Danish educational system up to the year 1990. The plan has been designated 'U-90' – 'U' being the first letter of the word 'uddannelse', the Danish equivalent of 'education', and '90' signifying the year to which the timespan of the plan extends.

This request was a natural consequence of the development over the past 15 years. An enormous expansion of the educational system was one of the characteristic features of the 1960s. The word *educational explosion* has been used to describe this development. Initiatives for innovation and development were taken at all levels and in all directions. But this was largely done without any overall plan, indeed often without any actual coherence between the many decisions.

At the beginning of the 1970s the brakes were put on, and it became necessary to scrutinize the results of the expansion in the 1960s. It was decided to prepare the U-90 report at this stage; the main aim has been to get a comprehensive view and a careful study of what will be needed in the 1980s and the 1990s as regards fresh reforms and innovations. We have made a point of giving a well-arranged account of the interrelationship between the various sectors of the educational system, and the underlying social conditions.

A. Education and Its Role in Society

2. Realizing that there are strong ties between the educational system and society, we have felt that it was impossible to discuss the educational political perspectives up to the 1990s without trying to form a conception of the type of shift that may be expected in society. This problem is discussed in chapter VII. Although it is important to realize that every society has some kind of educational system reflecting the social structure of it as well as the existing power structure and ownership structure, there is no reason to cave in to the opinion that the educational policy is exclusively determined by the existing economic and social structure of the society in question. On the contrary, history provides many examples of pioneer work, also by individuals such as Grundtvig, Kr. Kold and others.

A long-term educational plan like the U-90 would be of no interest if it was not inspired by ambitious ideas to the effect that the present adult generations are able to exert an influence on the future trends of society, for instance by pursuing a determined educational policy.

We are fully aware of all the conditions limiting how far we can get in that direction. The development of a small country is particularly dependant on what happens in the surrounding world, and powerful economic and technological forces prevail despite all wishes and political intentions to steer the development in a particular direction. This problem is elaborated in chapter VII.

3. However, two fundamental considerations suggest that the task can and must be accepted:

Firstly, the process of democratization in the Danish society is now so far advanced – a development which only a small minority would like to see stopped – that it is not possible to ignore strong wishes in the population to influence the development. The will to participate in the decision-making process continues to grow.

Secondly, we cannot help making decisions now which will have a binding effect on several future generations. Any decision concerning the educational system has such far-reaching consequences. This applies if a decision is made to change things, as well as if decisions are made to maintain the existing system in a changing world.

Consequently it will also appear as democratically desirable that attempts are made to clarify such consequences before the crucial decisions are made. This is in fact the leading principle of the long-term plan, andit also implies the answer to the possible objection that it is not for us but the next generations to make decisions relating to the educational system of tomorrow.

4. An inevitable prerequisite for making such a long-term preparation of a coherent and socially relevant educational policy is that a clarification should be made as to which *basic standards of values* are to be used, or in other words: what are our *intentions?* What are our *wishes*, our *hopes*, and our *dreams* as regards the educational system of tomorrow? This in its turn implies: What kind of society would we like to mould and create for our descendants?

In U-90 we will try to discuss the task of the educational system in society and define the decisive aims and objectives which we think must form the basis of a long-term educational policy up to year 2000.

We realize that to a high extent this is a task with a strong touch of political overtones, and U-90 cannot avoid becoming part of to the political debate. A sharp dividing line between educational planning and educational policy cannot be drawn.

We have however attached great importance to avoid blurring the political parameters of our proposal, such as is often the case with this types of reports. One of our ambitions has been to get clarity as regards the basis of values on which we base our report. But this also implies that we have not been able to agree on all items. The Central Council of Education, *(the CCE)*, is a body in which many different political views are represented. In the CCE there are representatives of the largest and most influential professional and industrial bodies, and individuals having different knowledge about and experience in educational matters, and each with his personal engagement in the problems under discussion.

The CCE thus reflects the conflicting opinions and conflicts of interests which are characteristic of the society in which we live.

By actually presenting the bases of values we use as our point of departure – the political basis – and by clarifying how our differences of opinion as regards concrete proposals concerning the educational system of tomorrow all stem from this – we think that we shall be able to give a valuable contribution to the ongoing educational politicy debate.

5. U-90 is more than an introduction to a debate, but its importance would dwindle if it was only a full-fledged technocratic plan on the management of the resources of the educational system over the next two decades. We have also tried to outline such a plan (cf. the concluding chapters) – but we realize that this also is only an element in a continuing planning process.

We consider it basically important that in the wider stages of this work, broad, active and positive support is obtained on the part of the '*participants*' in educational policy, i.e. teachers and pupils/students as well as parents, industrial and trade organizations, and the political parties.

During the last few years teacher organizations have had a decisive influence within primary and lower secondary school and the upper secondary school through the curriculum councils. A similar role has been played by the industrial and trade organizations in relation to the vocational courses of training through their representatives in vocational training committees and trade committees. During the last few years parents' associations and students and pupils have to an increasing extent asserted themselves and influenced the development.

Not least because of the long-term perspective of U-90, importance should be attached to having the 'participants' at the individual educational institutions take an independent position on current aims, and to having them participate in the plans to amend them consecutively. Only if the educational institutions are workshops for new aims will it be possible to avoid educating the young people for the society of the previous generation. This also implies that the goals aimed at should be open to innovations to as wide an extent as possible.

6. The first prerequisite for a wider agreement on reforms and solutions in the educational political field is a registration of current aims, and an open discussion of the means available for realizing such aims.

These issues are discussed in detail in chapters VIII, IX, and X. However, we considered them to be so central that we would like to point to some main lines and principal views already in this introduction.

As an introduction to this we would like to consider them in a historical perspective.

B. Basic Aims

7. It is only natural that the sweeping developments of the 1960s continue to dominate our conceptions, also in matters of educational policy, but the development of that period was the continuation of a development stretching over a long period of time, and it may be useful to keep this in mind.

We will therefore begin our account by giving a historical outline which may contribute towards illustrating how the content of the educational system has changed in a decisive way in step with the development of society. At the same time it appears, however, how strong the continuity is in certain basic structures.

Both in the age of enlighted despotism and in the age of representative government, the dilemma between education aimed at having faithful and obedient citizens and the wish to have a population which was independently productive and sharing in responsibilities, characterized the structure of the educational system. It has been a continuous balancing between central management and local self-determination and participation in decision-making.

No specialized vocational training existed outside the guilds in the preindustrial society. People learned a trade, became qualified for and socially adapted to a role in working life by being trained through their work in trade and industry.

This applies to the two large classes, the agricultural class and the middle class. The clergy and the professional class were part of and were associated with the State, and they were educated – and thus also trained for a vocation, at the State grammar schools and at the University of Copenhagen.

The preindustrial was characterized by a very low social mobility. The place one got in society and on the social ladder was predetermined. Every new generation repeated the life pattern of the previous generation.

8. At the beginning of the 19th century this stable pattern was set in motion.

In the last century the common school for children – 'almueskolen' – had a modest content of general vocational training comprising the three R's. These qualifications were slowly accepted by employers, but the introduction of the teaching of attitudes in a school for all was a very controversial issue. In the 19th century this issue was primarily raised by groups in popular and religious work.

However, the development of urban trades created an increased need for something different from that which the elementary school was able to offer, namely a need for people with a knowledge of algebra, bookkeeping, foreign languages, natural sciences, etc. These so-called *practical subjects* were a necessity for the growing trades, and for the continued technical development of a productive industry.

Thus started the development which has characterized the educational system through the last 100 years. The public educational system has to an increasing extent taken over vocational training and education as the situation in society made it necessary to separate education and training from practical work. But although the courses of education to an increasing extent have been placed outside the trading concerns, the representatives of the business community continue to have a considerable influence on the content of the courses.

The business community-including crafts, agriculture, industry, trade, transport, liberal professions, and the service sector, has developed rapidly over the past 50 years, both as regards the size of the various sectors and the demands for qualified manpower.

9. The other decisive historical factor which changed the role of the educational system was the need for increased social mobility. In the preindustrial society people remained in the class they were born into, but gradually industrialization and the rapid economic development broke this pattern. For good and for bad links were broken, and each person's place in society became ever more dependant on his fate in the educational system. In addition to the imparting of knowledge and the development of attitudes and opinions, the educational system also handles central functions concerning social adjustment, the recruitment and the sorting of persons for constantly changing labour market structure.

The educational system has often been considered to be the tool of the rulers for defending and keeping their privileges. This is why we find the expressions 'middle class school', 'the hidden curriculum', and 'the class struggle within the school'. At the same time the opposition to the rulers have always considered education to be a lever for a change of the existing society. From its very beginning in the early 19th century the liberal opposition to feudalism and the guild system strove to use educational reforms as a means to realize their ideals.

10. Educational policy is also a central issue in Denmark of today for those who take a critical attitude to the existing society, and for the ones who have as their

main aim the preservation of the social status quo. Some people accuse the educational system of being the servant of the rulers, and at the same time they consider it as a tool for criticism and innovation within the educational field. Other accuse the educational system of intending to contribute towards overthrowing society.

If we are to make goals for the educational system for the period up to year 2000 it is necessary to keep these fundamental social functions in mind: the education or training qualifying for a trade, which must be considered in the light of the development in the business sector, and the adaption and sorting function which must be carried out in a way which can be accepted by the majority of people in order that society may work. Thus the aims of an educational system must be drawn up on the basis of the interaction and the differences between these 'necessities' and the ideas about a freer, fairer, and more humane society.

At late as a few decades ago it was almost taken for granted that the school was to teach children to believe in God, obey the king, and love their country, and not very many years ago the watchword was obedience and deference to authorities and superiors in the Danish school, and to a certain extent the situation may be said to be same even today.

11. The norms which previously formed the basis of teaching have now partly been replaced by others, such as democracy, student participation, law and order, equality and the right to criticize. These new norms have made topical the classical conflict in the task of the school:

- the imparting of traditions and behavioural patterns versus
- training in independent thinking, questioning of exiting norms, thus contributing to innovations and progress

By way of example may be mentioned the attitude of the children to the teacher. On the one hand the pupils are expected to trust the teacher qua authority in a wide range of situations, but on the other hand they must be taught to question this attitude. Through the ages there has been a considerable shift between the fields in which the teacher is considered to be an authority, and the fields in which the pupils are extected to take and independent position. Previously it was an important task for the school to impart a Christian philosophy as a basis of values. Today opinions may differ on this aspect, but everybody will agree that the school should give the pupils a democratic set of norms.

This brief outline shows that society has always tried to ensure that the following generation would be armed with the knowledge and the skills which were considered necessary to secure the concrete basis, and with the behaviour pattern, attitudes, and the belief which were a precondition to make society function in agreement with the prevailing ideas.

We agree that the educational system of tomorrow should cover all aspects of life. The reason why we stress the importance of behaviour patterns and attitudes several times in this report is to bring this aspect of the activities of the school more to light. On the other hand it is not because we want to reduce the demand for knowledge and skills and other types of training. We also realize that the school and the other educational institutions only constitute one factor among the many influencing and developing young people as they grow up.

C. The Four Lives

12. In order to illustrate the breadth of educational aims and the intimate connection between education and life in general, we have chosen as key-words the so-called *four lives:* education is intended

to contribute towards enriching the life of the individual as a participant in the *family life*, *leisure life*, *working life*, and *community life*.

Of course we do not intend to wider the gap which today exists between these four aspects of life. On the contrary, the intention is to stress that these four lives are interrelcted, and that the individual must develop his personality, his abilities and interests with a view to all these aspects of life, which the educational system must therefore give equal opportunities and scope.

The definitions of the four lives could be termed as follows: *Family life* comprises both the family and the immediate circle of acquaintances. The various courses should comprise as well as bring up for discussion a wide range of subjects which are partly taboo today; in particular sex roles, the generation gap, everyday language, ethical problems, etc. and thus also subjects which are often cause problem in the homes, such as divorce, crine, alcohol, unemployment, etc.

Education aimed at *leisure life* is to be understood as the development of creative skills, the ability to 'play' when taking part in hobby activities, the ability to relax and recharge in individual and in activities with others. This also includes the participation in clubs work and other cultural activities.

If the *working life* does not call for 'ready-made products', it does at least require 'refined products' of the educational system. The various courses should comprise specialized as well as general qualifications of various degrees of difficulty in order to train the students to cope with the various aspects of the work process, so that they can undertake new tasks, acquire new knowledge about the production, and participate in the decision-making process and co-operative with others.

Community life comprises the wide range of functions which the individual has as a citizen in society, and as a participant in club activities, and political activities. In order to participate in such activities on an equal footing with others, it is necessary to have knowledge about society and the possibilities it holds, be trained to participate in the decision-making process, to be able to present a matter, take initiatives, etc. Education has been too isolated from what is going on in the surrounding community.

13. Taken together the four lives constitute the essential content of human life. But it is a life which is characterized by a number of differences which young people find it hard to understand and to accept, such as:

- the public debate on equality versus the inequality of what the eye sees and what you may experience on your own body;
- the freedom and rights of the individuals so often talked about versus the many rules and regulations of society, and the disciplinary requirements of working life;
- the approval in theory of the value of a general introduction to a subject, and all-round education versus heavy demands of the educational system for exact adaptation to the needs of the business sector;
- hard physical or monotonous work in working life versus the wish for versatile cultural and creative activities outside working life in the leisure life;
- the demand for mobility in working life versus the wish for stability in family life.

14. In connection with the description of the four lives it is natural to point to the fact that U-90 only deals with the part of the education which is embraced by the formalised educational system. Actually we are all the time being educated informally in the family, at work,

during our leisure-time, etc.; in short throughout our entire life.

D. Survey of the Following Chapters

15. The considerations of aims and objectives in the educational system and of urgent reforms constitute the main contents of chapters VII to XIV. As a basis of and a prerequisite for this, chapters II and III contain a description of the present educational system, and of the many innovations and changes in recent years.

Chapter IV gives an account of the factors influencing the *flow of students* in the system, including not least the imbalances and inequalities which continue to characterize the courses of education as a reflection of and an adaptation to the economic, social, and cultural inequalities which characterize society.

Chapter V deals with the *teachers*, who in contrast to the pupils typically have lasting – normally lifelong work in the educational system, and who constitute the decisive factor in the general development of the system. The teachers furthermore have the very important role alongside the parents to represent of the adult generations in an often very close interrelationship with children and young people.

Chapter VI deals with a number of *new currents in education* which have characterized the development of recent years with regard to methods of work in the educational institutions.

As has been mentioned above, chapter VII deals with our *ideas* of the society of the 1990s, and chapters VIII, IX, and X discuss *aims and objectives of the educational policy*.

Chapter XI contains a discussion of the means and *possibilities of management* of the educational system which the public authorities have, and which are a prerequisite for realizing new ideas and plans.

Chapter XII contains an overall *reckoning up of the social* costs to be paid to carry through the suggested reforms, and an outline is made of the considerations which will influence the decisions as to where the resources are to be used.

Chapter XIII gives an account of the *later stages in the planning and the decision making* which will be formulated when U-90 is completed. A discussion of the role of educational research, experimental work, and development work and their impact on these stages.

Chapter XIV gives a final summary.

16. Four minority statements on the U-90 plan have been included at the end of chapter XIV. Minority statements are also included in the body of the report.

At the end of Volume I there is at list of the members of CCE and the deputies who have participated in the work.

Chapter II

Chief Features of the Development

1. The educational system we have today is of comparatively recent date. This becomes very clear if you consider the trend in the 20th century, constituting the period in which the entire contemporary Danish population have gone to school and received an education.

Whether one considers the total number of pupils, the total number of teachers, or the total expenditure on educational purposes, the result is the same: up to the late 1930s there was only a very slow rate of growth, and then things started to move, and especially during the 1950s there was a vigorous growth.

The big age classes from the middle of the 1940s contributed to a new planning, but it was above all the economic trends which called for expansion and innovation. The boom in the 1960s which resulted in an increase of public expenditure on education from 2 or 3 per cent of GNP to over 7 per cent (cf. figure 2.1), was closely connected with the economic growth. The other Western industrialized countries have experienced almost the same growth as Denmark. Sweden and the Netherlands spend almost 7 per cent on education, whereas Norway, England, and West Germany spend somewhat less.

The competitive situation between the East and the West in the 1960s became a special factor of importance for the conception of the role of education, not least when the Soviet Union won the space race when they launched Sputnik I.

It became the prevailing view that increased expenditure on education was an *investment*, not only for the individual but also for society, which contributed decisively to creating a basis for economic growth. In keeping with this view, interest centered on the technological courses of education, and on increased efforts in the field of scientific research and technological R/D-work.

2. The development in this country was however characterized by a far more varied view of education, and the educational system grew broader and more comprehensive, both as regards content and structure.

It was in keeping with the tradition of Danish educational policy that wishes expressed by people for better opportunities of education had a substantial influence on the political decisions on a par with the increasing need of trade and industry for well-qualified and well-trained staff. This was not least manifest in the heavy growth of upper secondary education, and sociology at universities, and by the rapid development of leisure-time education for young people and adults.

Incidentally it is very characteristic of the development of the 1960s that a number of new initiatives were taken, and that a number of innovations were introduced within the educational sector pari passu with the heavy quantitative growth. This can briefly be illustrated by the below list of some of the most important innovations (not in chronological order).

- the introduction of nursery classes
- the introduction of 8th, 9th, and subsequently 10th classes in the primary and lower secondary school
- the introduction of a comprehensive

primary and lower secondary school, ('the Folkeskole')*)
- the introduction of optional subjects and general informative subjects
- the comprehensive curricular reforms
- the introduction of training of junior technicians (technical assistants, draughtsmen, laboratory technologists, and mechanical engineering technicians)
- the apprenticeship reform with day schools instead of evening classes
- the introduction of basic vocational training
- the introduction of new specialized schools and courses of study, such as the High School for the Public Administration and computer courses
- courses of a modular structure in single subjects for young people and adults
- expansion of the training of senior technicians and other short courses of further education
- the Technical University at the Lundtoftesletten north of Copenhagen
- the H. C. Ørsted Institute of Physics and Chemistry
- new university centres at Odense, Roskilde, and Aalborg.

Concurrently with these innovations, fundamental reforms such as
- the introduction of free education at all public educational institutions
- educational aid
- support for large-scale building of student halls
- student and pupil participation in management
- the abolition of a number of sex discriminating regulations.

3. This list is not exhaustive, but it covers the most important reforms and innovations. They reflect a society in transformation. We easily forget that only few people realize that the advances mentioned above have taken place in the last two decades. These advances were some of the results of the economic growth of the 1960s, which so many people now condemn.

If we should point to a few salient features of the underlying development in society, we would point to the radical industrialization of all sectors of productive industry, the rapid growth of publicly provided services, the heavy urbanization, and the consequent changes of the traffic system. Concurrently with this there were important social shifts, not least with a rapid reduction of the small independent unit within agriculture, trade, handicraft, and the growth of a large class of salaried employers, in the private as well as the public sectors.

Table 2.1. Public expenditure on education as a percentage of GNP.

Year[1]	Percentage of GNP
1935	2.2
1957	2.8
1967	5.5
1968	5.8
1969	6.1
1970	6.5
1971	7.1
1972	7.3
1973	7.2
1974	7.5

[1] Based on State educational expenditure per fiscal year. Consequently the figures for 1967–74 have been recalculated so that they are an approximation of the educational expenditure in the calendar year. ($^1/_4$ of the first and $^3/_4$ of the second fiscal year forming part of the calendar year).

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*) *The Folkeskole* is a nine year compulsory co-educational comprehensive school, free of charge for parents, set up and paid for by the local authorities, but regulated by law and bye-laws as regards content and standards. It began with schools on royal estates in the 1730s and became a nationwide system with the first Primary and Lower Secondary School Act in 1814, which instituted a 7 year's school for all children. For details about the growth of the primary and lower secondary school, see the historical parts of this report.

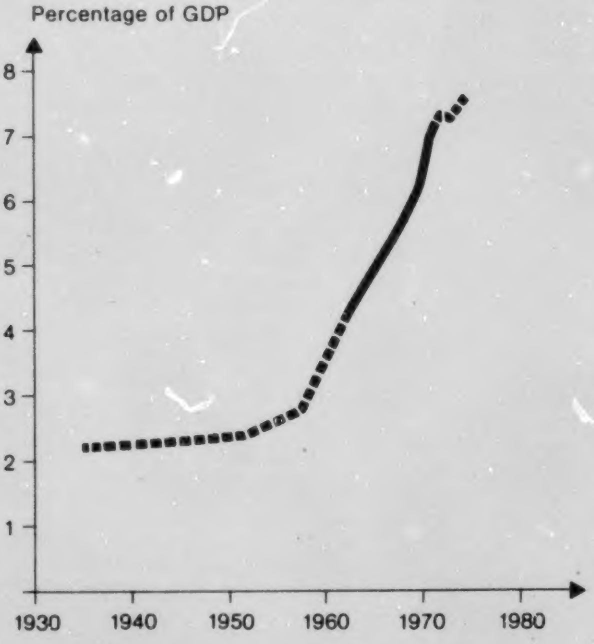
For the years 1935–70 the computations are based on information on the expenditure on courses under the Ministry of Education. The computations for the years 1971–74 have been made on the basis of information on the expenditure on education and research of the total public sector. This includes educational aid in the form of grants. Education for Government services (the Post Office, the Danish State Railways, etc.) are not included as it is very difficult to compute the educational expenditure for them.

Source:

Educational expenditure	
1935 and 1957	Statistical Yeark-book
1967–1970	Educational Statistics 1974–75 The Economic-statistical Consultant to the Ministry of Education
1971–74	Internal material from the Government Budget Office of the National Bureau of Statistics.
National product	
1935	Kjeld Bjerke & Olaf Ussing: Studies of the Danish National Product 1870–1950 (University of Copenhagen, 1958)
1957	Statistical Year-book
1967–1974	Statistical Survey of a Decade, 1977

Figure 2.1. Public expenditure on education as a percentage of GNP.

Percentage of GNP



The massive and decisive movement behind all this was the steep growth of overall employment outside the homes, first and foremost characterized by women entering the labour market with the consequent shifts in sex roles and family structures, etc. It should also be remembered that the families had less children, and at the same time the proportion of elderly people of the total population grew, one of the reasons being the improved general conditions.

The initiatives for changes in the educational system came from many quarters of society, and many reforms carried the impress of improvisation despite the fact that they had been prepared by committees, councils, and commissions. This development had not been possible if all the 'participant' in the educational system had not shown much open-mindedness and adaptability, as they in fact did.

In chapter III we give a more detailed account of the shifts in the structure of the educational system, the main stress being laid on current structure and current debate on it.

This chapter discusses some principal traits of the development since the turn of the century, and especially through the post-war years.

4. If we exclusively consider the development of the *primary and lower secondary school,* it is a characteristic feature that the total number of pupils has increased rapidly over the last few years, whereas the total number of school has roughly been halved since the turn of the century, cf. figure 2.2.

The growth in the number of pupils is only to a small extent due to the fact that there are now more children. Although the population figure has increased from 2.5 millions to 5 millions, the declining birthrate has had the result that the number of children born in a particular year is almost the same as at the turn of the century, namely about 70,000.

Figure 2.2. The number of pupils attending primary and lower secondary schools and corresponding private schools since 1906. The number of pupils has increased from 400,000 to 800,000, especially because the children attend school for a longer period. To this should be added approx. 45,000 attending nursery classes. The number of schools has decreased. The small schools in the country have disappeared up to a point, one of the reasons being that a much larger number of children live in towns today.

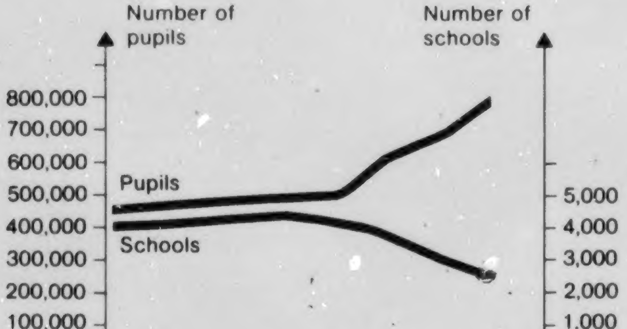


Figure 2.2. Table

Year	Number of pupils	Number of schools
1906	401,000	4,300
1915	461,000	4,200
1926	487,000	4,500
1936	486,000	4,500
1946	481,000	4,200
1956	644,000	3,900
1966	674,000	2,800
1975	806,000	2,400

For the years 1906–56 the figures comprise pupils both in the primary and lower secondary school and in the corresponding classes in the upper secondary schools, as upper secondary schools have or have had primary and lower secondary sections; as a result it is difficult to separate upper secondary pupils and schools. However, the pupil figures for 1906 and 1975 comprise primary and lower secondary pupils only. The number of schools comprise primary and lower secondary schools as well as upper secondary schools in the entire period.

Source: The Statistical Year-Book, and information from the Economic-Statistical Division of the Ministry of Education. However, the period from 1900 has been characterized by fairly considerable fluctuations, and the birthrate bulge from 1945 and 1946 exceeded 90,000.

If many more pupils today attend primary and lower secondary schools, this is first and foremost due to the fact that compulsory education has been extended from 7 to 9 years, that most children attend school for a period of 10 years, that more than 50 % of the children attend pre-school class, and that compulsory education is more efficient today than it was 75 years ago.

The total number of schools in this century is down from 4,000 to half of that figure. Consequently the number of pupils attending the average school has increased from just under 100 to 300 pupils.

This average is due to various tendencies. If we consider the municipal schools only, the attendance around 1900 was about 70 pupils in the country, slightly more than 400 in the provincial towns, and upwards of 1,000 in Copenhagen and Frederiksberg. This picture has changed. Now there are approx. 1,000 schools with 8th, 9th, and 10th classes with an average of 500 pupils, and approx. 1,000 schools with 1st to 7th classes with an average of 135 pupils. The difference between town and country has diminished. It is a characteristic feature that the smallest village schools have disappeared because the growth of population has been centered in the towns, and especially because the village schools have been combined to form central schools.

5. However, it is not so much the development in the first 7 years of the primary and lower secondary school as in the 8th to 10th school years, the upper secondary school, and tertiary education that justifies the term 'educational explosion'.

The total number of pupils in schools offering education terminating through an examination (8th to 10th school years) (from 1900–1960: 3th and 4th middle school classes and the reál*) class, and 1st to 3rd reál 1960–75) has doubled every 25 years in this century (cf. figure 2.3). This development is partly a result of an increasing interest among new strata of the population – especially the mid-

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*) *The reál school* is the lower secondary school. Originally it was made up of 4 years of middle school (11–15) plus one year of 'reál' school. Later it was changed into a 3-year course (13–16). The final examination, the reál examination, was the normal requirement for entering state or municipal jobs at clerical level. It was abolished by the new Primary and Lower Secondary School Act, 1975 (cf. note p. 15).

dle classes – in getting an education terminating through an examination, and partly to the reed for employees with better skills of Danish, arithmetic, and foreign languages in the in creasingly industrialized business sector.

The need for better trained manpower expressed by trade and industry coincided with the interest of farmers and citizens in creating an alternative to the State grammar schools. This provided the basis for the growth of the *reál schools*, commonly private ones, which has characterized this development in the first part of this century.

The increase is even more pronounced in *upper secondary education* and *higher preparatory education*. From 1950 to 1975 the number of pupils multiplied by seven. The reasons for this trend are roughly the same that made the reál schools thrive earlier. The development did not explode until the desire for having young people stay on al school coincided with the general prosperity, and a strong belief in education as a precondition for progress expressed in the 1960s.

The decisive factor for the technical schools and the commercial schools was not so much the increase of the number of pupils as the new Apprenticeship Act, 1956 which replaced evening classes by day classes. This change resulted in a heavy increase of public expenditure in this field.

As the majority of students and student attending a higher preparatory course pursue a post-secondary course of education, the increase had much more farreaching consequences than the growth of the reál school earlier in this century. A more precise picture of the shifts in the educational pattern is shown by the percentage of students of a particular year who have passed the reál examination, the upper secondary school leaving examination or the higher preparatory examination, or a leaving examination from post-secondary institutions (inclusive of teacher training colleges and technical colleges), etc., (cf. figure 2.4).

The steep rise in the percentage of students passing the reál examination set in around 1950, for the upper secondary school leaving examination around 1960, and for the examinations from post-secondary courses of study well over 5 years later.

The increase has not been reflected fully in the total number of graduates. The decision by the Folketing in 1976 to admit 20,000 a year to the long and medium courses of further education means that more than 20 per cent of students graduating in a particular year will get a degree from these courses. Traditionally it has been possible to begin a course of further education without having passed the upper secondary school leaving examination, and this is the reason why up to the middle of the 1960s there are more people with final examinations from courses of further education than students with an upper secondary school leaving examination. People who had not passed the upper secondary school leaving examination were especially recruited by teacher training colleges and technical colleges.

Up to the late 1950s there was only a sligth increase in the frequency of the traditional vocational training, but then there was a rapid increase up to 1964. In the following years there was a falling off in the training of apprentices so the total does not show any appreciable progress.

Pari passu with the development in the above courses of education there was however a development in a number of other sectors. By way of example may be mentioned the heavy growth in the public health services and social welfare and other welfare work, which has resulted in an growth of the training of staff for these institutions.

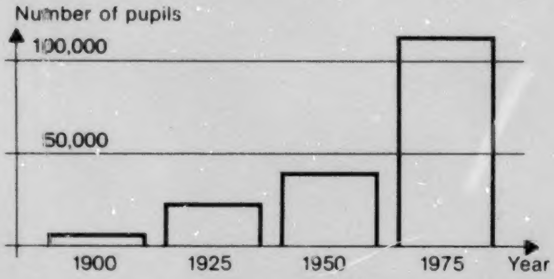
Figure 2.3. The number of pupils in the tops forms of the primary and lower secondary schools and corresponding school types, upper secondary schools, etc., and the courses of further education in selected years 1900/1901 – 1975 /1976.

The reál department)* (1900, 1925, and 1950: 3rd to 4th middle school forms and the reál department) has grown evenly in this century, promoted by the private 'borgerskole' (a type of municipal primary and lower secondary school) and reál schools.

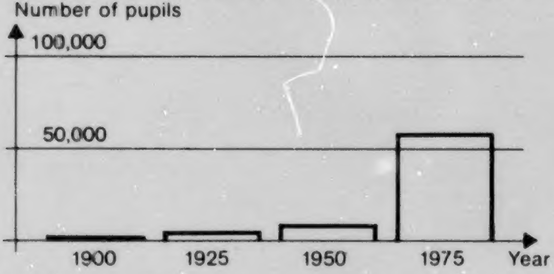
The vigorous growth of *upper secondary education* and *higher preparatory education* only set in after 1950. The higher preparatory courses, which were introduced in 1967, have contributed to this development.

Post-secondary education has only started growing rapidly in the last decade.

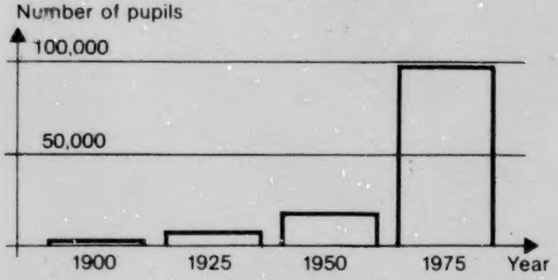
The reál department
(1900, 1925 and 1950. 3rd and 4th middle school form and the reál form)



Upper secondary education and preparatory education



Tertiary education
(universities, teacher training colleges etc.)



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*) See note pag. 18.

Figure 2.3. Table

Year	3rd to 4th middle school classes and reál departments	Upper secondary education and higher preparatory education	Post-secondary education[1]
1900 . . .	7,000[2]	1,000[2]	2,000[2]
1926 . . .	23,000	4,000	8,000
1950 . . .	41,000	8,000	18,000
1975 . . .	116,000[3]	58,000	98,000

[1] Universities, courses of education for engineers, teacher training colleges, etc.

[2] Estimated figures.

[3] 9th and 10th classes.

Source: Statistical Publications: Primary and secondary Education, etc., Statistical Year-Book and Educational Statistics 1974–75, the Economic-statistical Division of the Ministry of Education.

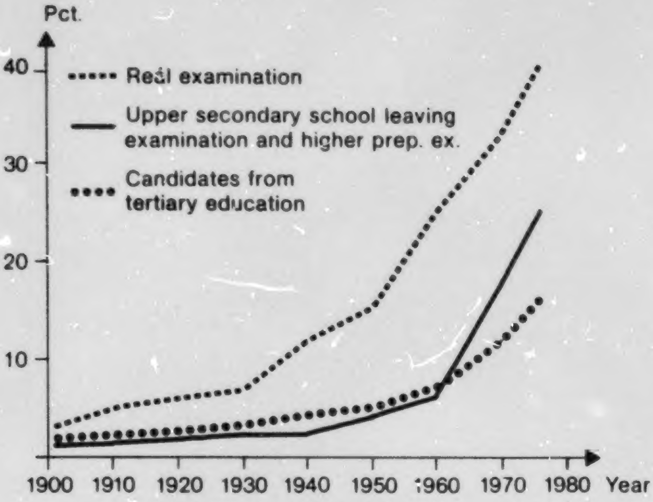
6. One of the very problematic results of the vigorous growth experienced over the last two decades in the educational system are the deep gaps between the educational background of the various age groups. This has to a very high extent contributed to creating a generation gap – the more so as the school itself has changed.

Whereas the situation for young people today is that practically everybody gets 9 years of schooling, and approximatelly 90 per cent 10 years, either in the 10th class of the primary and lower secondary school, in the basic year of the basic vocational training, in the 1-years course leading to a commercial examination, or in the 1st class of the upper secondary school, almost half of the present adult population has got only 7 years of schooling – and apart from that most of them do not have any systematic training of any kind. The proportion of people without any formal education is even greater for old-age pensioneers. The percentage of young people who had more than 9 years of schooling amounted to less than 15 per cent even up to the middle of the 1930s, and up to 1950 less than 25 per cent, cf. figure 2.5.

In 1990 the situation will be slightly different when people from the oldest age brackets have died, and all of the young people will then have 9 years of schooling. In 1990 there will, however, still be 40 per cent of the population with less than 9 years of schooling.

In terms of figures the inequality is not as big as regards the vocational training of the population, because a considerable proportion of the persons who left the primary and lower secondary school at the age of 14 had vocational training. But it is still a very considerable proportion of the population who have only 7 years of schooling, or who have only a very limited additional education to the 7 years. As will appear from figure 2.6 it was not until the late 1930s that the group of young people without a vocational training wert below 50 per cent. And if the adult population from 20 to 70 years of age is taken as a whole, the figure is 40 per cent for those who do not have or who have only a very brief vocational training.

Figure 2.4. The number of pupils having passed the reál examination, pupils having passed the upper secondary school leaving examination, and graduates as a percentages of the total number of graduates of a year, 1900–76. Many pupils who have passed the reál examination pass the upper secondary school leaving examination later, so the curves cannot be added up. The trend of the total number of upper secondary school leavers seems to correspond to the trend of the total numbers of reál schools leavers, with a delay of approximately 12–15 years. If previously there were more candidates from post-secondary education than upper secondary school leavers, this is due to the fact that a large number of young people without an upper secondary school leav-



ing examination were admitted to the teacher training colleges, etc.

Figure 2.4. Table (percentages)

Year	Reál examination1)	Upper secondary school leaving exam. and higher prep. exam.2)	Further and higher education3)
1901 . . .	3	1	2
1911 . . .	5	2	2
1921 . . .	6	2	2
1930 . . .	7	3	3
1940 . . .	12	3	4
1950 . . .	15	5	5
1960 . . .	25	7	7
1970 . . .	33	18	12
1975 . . .	40	25	16

1) Comprises the reál examination, the girls school-leaving examination, and the 'præliminæreksamen' (formerly: the leaving examination of certain Danish schools; a general preparatory examination).

2) The year group is the 19-year-olds.

3) Comprises as in figures 2.3. universities, the training of engineers, teachers training colleges, etc. The year group is computed as an average of the 25 to 29-year-olds.

Source: The Danish National Institute of Social Research and the National Bureau of Statistics: Levevilkår i Danmark 1976 (General Conditions in Denmark). Statistical Year-Book.

Figure 2.5. Estimate of the formal schooling the population 1977. The large white section in the figure shows that more than half of the adult population (approx. 65 per cent) has less than 9 years of schooling, which today constitutes the period of compulsory education. In 1990 the situation will be somewhat different with fully hatched bars to the right, whereas the low bars to the left are disappearing. However, there will still be 40 per cent of the population in the age bracket 20–65 years with less than 9 years of schooling.

The table shows the schooling of the 20 to 64-year-olds in 1972. The 1977 figures have been arrived at by carrying over the 1972 figures unchanged, so that they illustrate the schooling in 1977 of the 25 to 69-year-olds. A small proportion of this population group has received additional schooling in the intervening

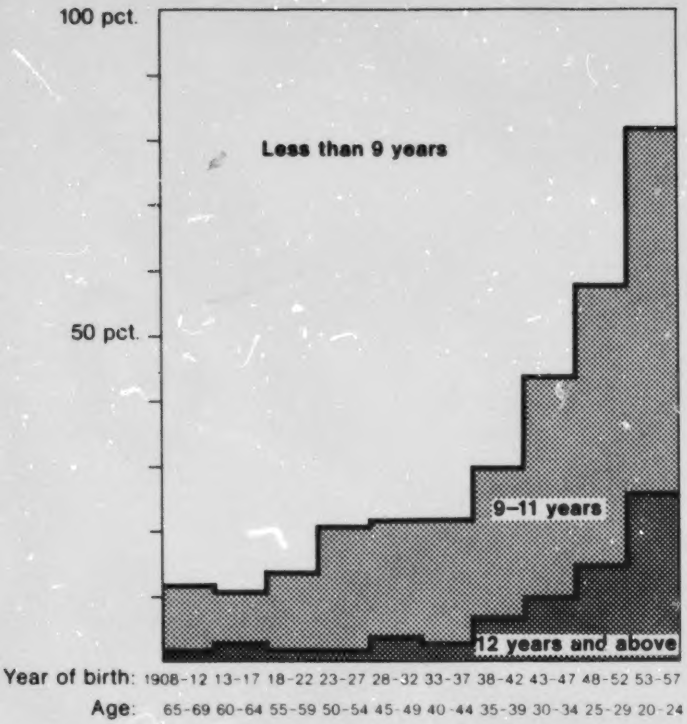


Figure 2.5. Table

The 20–69-years-olds and the number of years of schooling in percentages within the individual age groups (1977).

	Number of years of schooling1)		
	Less than 9 years	9–11 years	12 and over2)
20–24 years	18	56	26
25–29 –	42	43	15
30–34 –	56	34	10
35–39 –	70	23	7
40–44 –	78	19	3
45–49 –	78	18	4
50–54 –	79	19	2
55–59 –	86	12	2
60–64 –	89	8	3
65–69 –	88	10	2

1) Comprises only primary and lower secondary schooling and upper secondary schooling.

2) Persons who have passed the upper secondary school leaving examination or the higher preparatory examination.

period, but no allowance has been made for that. The figures for the 20 to 24-year- olds have been computed on the basis of the intake to the 9th year of the primary and lower secondary school and the 2nd reál class 1968–72, and upper secondary school, higher preparatory courses, and courses leading to the upper secondary school leaving examination 1969–73, respectively.

Source: Carl Nørregaard and Erik Jørgen Hansen: Some computations of the Schooling of the Population in 1990. The Danish National Institute of Social Research, Bulletin No. 4, 1973.

In the case of the young people leaving the educational system within the next few years there will be a *residual group* of 20–25 per cent who do not get any education after the 9th or 10th year of the primary and lower secondary school. A small part will later on get vocational training or participate in other types of adult ecudation, but there will continue to be an important educational problem here. This is one of the main issues in the following part of this report.

Figure 2.6. Vocational training and further education of the population in 1977. The lower hatched section shows the proportion of the population which has received a further education. The next hatcheed section shows the proportion of the population. which has attended vocational training. The white section shows the proportion of the population which has not received any of these types of educatios or training.

Figure 2.6. Table

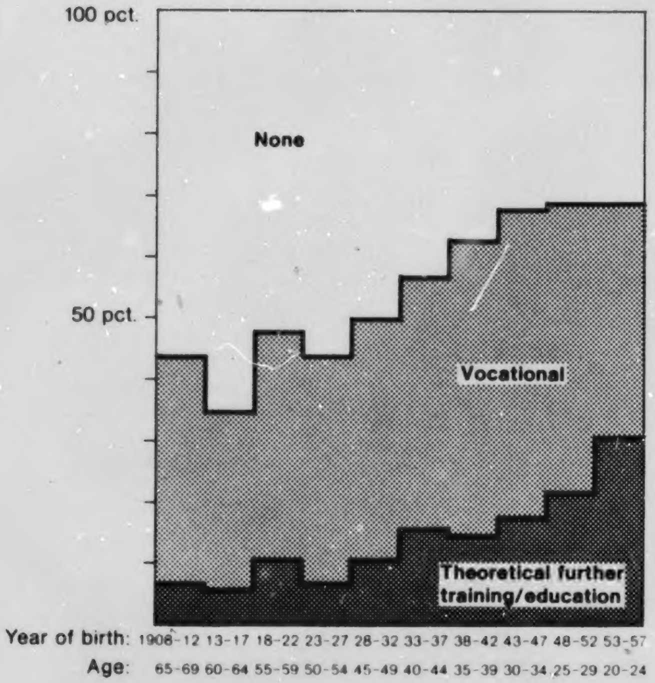
The 20–69-year-olds according to level of vocational training in percentages within the individual age groups (1977).

	Long period of further training1)	Specialized vocational training2)
20–24 years	31	38
25–29 –	22	47
30–34 –	18	50
35–39 –	15	48
40–44 –	16	41
45–49 –	11	39
50–54 –	7	37
55–59 –	11	37
60–64 –	6	29
65–69 –	7	37

1) In this table vocational training is to be understood as the vocational training that has been completed, or the one the persons are pursing.

2) In this table specialized vocational training is to be understood as basic vocational training within the 10th to 12th school years, courses for semi-skilled workers, and similar very short courses of vocational training.

Figure 2.6



The table shows the level of vocational training for the 20 to 64-year-olds in 1972. The 1977 figures have been arrived at by carrying over the 1972 figures unchanged, so that they illustrate the vocational training of those who are today between 25 and 69 years old. The small proportion of this population group who have received such training since 1972 cannot be show.

The level of vocational training of the 20 to 24-year-olds in 1977 has been computed on the basis of the intake to the courses of vocational training 1971-75, and the long courses of further education 1970-74.

Source: The National Bureau of Statistics and the comprehensive survey carried out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research. November 1972.

Chapter III

The Present Educational System

1. The preceding chapters have given an outline of the educational system of today. A new situation in the educational system has arisen as a result of the vigorous growth in the 1960s and the slowing-down in the 1970s. This chapter explains some of the main features from the 1960s till today within the different main fields, as well as the present situation, and the ideas about reforms found in the educational system.

A. The Primary and Lower Secondary School

2. The Primary and Lower Secondary School was still a streamed school at the beginning of the 1960s. Only the first 5 years were comprehensive, and after this period there was in most schools a streaming in the 6th and 7th forms – a stream leading to upper secondary education, and a general stream. In *the stream leading to upper secondary education* there was a triennial reál department as a kind of superstructure, and this department became very popular, and the pupils from the *general stream* could at their own option continue in the 8th and 9th forms – and after some years an optional 10th year was added, cf. figure 3.1.

The impossibility of making a just setting of the children at the age of 12 or 13, and the general acceptance of the principle about expanded and common education for all and about equal opportunities had the result that the streaming in the 6th and 7th forms was discontinued in most schools on local initiative, and in 1968 the Primary and Lower Secondary School Act was amended so that it was no longer necessary to obtain permission to refrain from streaming pupils in the 6th and 7th forms as an experiment. The decision was left to the local authorities and the parents, and about 1970 streaming had in fact stopped in all primary and lower secondary schools. At the beginning of the 1970s this trend continued in a number of subjects for forms 8 to 10 on the one hand, and the reál forms on the other. This trend became more significant after the extension of the period of compulsory education from 7 to 9 years in 1972.

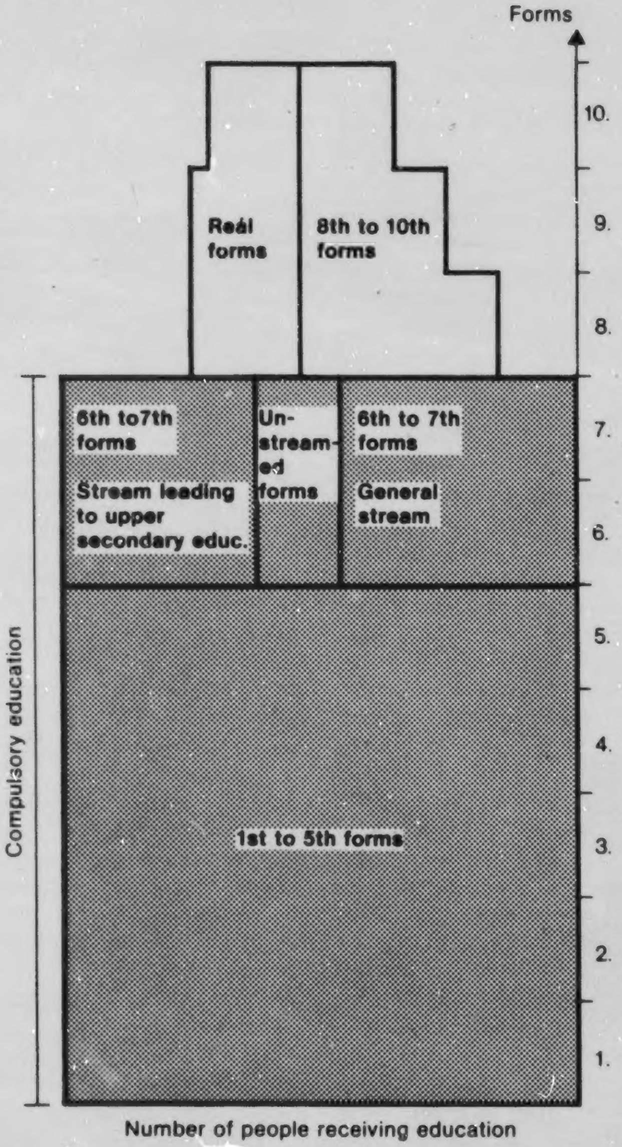
In pursuance of the Primary and Lower Secondary Act, 1975 the comprehensive school became fully implemented up to the 10th school year with streaming (at the option of the pupil and his parents) in 2 courses in a few subjects in the 8th to 10th school years, cf. figure 3.2.

Pupils in the 8th and 9th forms have an opportunity of completing compulsory education in various other ways, e. g. by attending a continuation school, a youth boarding school or

- if their application is accepted by the school board
- through vocational training or employment.

Figure 3.1. The structure of the Primary and Lower Secondary School 1960. Horizontally the boxes indicate the number of students of a particular year receiving education in the group or stream in question.

Source: Statistical Year-Book. The number of unstreamed forms (6th and 7th forms) is however an estimate.


Forms
10.
9.
8.
7.
6.
5.
4.
3.
2.
1.
Real forms
8th to 10th forms
6th to7th forms
Stream leading to upper secondary educ.
Un-streamed forms
6th to 7th forms
General stream
1st to 5th forms
Compulsory education
Number of people receiving education

3. The special village schools which existed outside provincial towns and the urban districts were abolished in 1958. A standard school with 3 parallel forms and with approx. 600 pupils dominated school building in the 1960s. In recent years there has however been a tendency to preserve the small schools. This must be seen in the light of the wish for decentralization in society as a whole, with more importance attached to the self-government of the small community unit. As a matter of fact the Primary and Lower Secondary School Act entrust the lo-

cal authorities with the task of determining to a certain extend the size and number of schools in a municipality.

4. As concerns curricula the general informative subjects have experienced the most important innovations. From a clear academic division at the beginning of the 1960s there was a trend towards an integration of History, Biology, and Geography in the subject termed Social Studies, Nature Studies, and General Science. The Primary and Lower Secondary School Act, 1975 opens up opportunities of integration of the 3 subjects in the 3rd to 5th forms, prescribes an academic division in the 6th to 7th forms, and Contemporary Studies is made a compulsory subject in the 8th to 10th forms. These trends reflect an increased understanding of the interrelationship between nature (biology and geography) and history (social development in a given natural context), and the desire to attach greater importance to overall views. The improved scope and coherence in the learning and understanding which this gives the pupils, holds important pedagogical advantages.

While the period of compulsory education has been expanded, the class hours of the pupils have been subject to comparatively far-reaching changes, partly as a result of the reduction of working hours in the labour market. Thus, the 5-day week was introduced in 1970, and in connection with general retrenchments in 1973 the lessons were reduced to 45 minutes.

The actual number of lessons through 7 years in 1960 do not deviate very much from the total number of lessons under the current 9-year period of compulsory education. But the distribution on subjects is different today, cf. table 3.3, which shows the number of full hours normally used for the various subjects in 1960 and in 1976. The comprehensive changes as concerns methods, structure, and content only give a simplified picture of the situation when hours are compared. There has, however, been a shift in this situation as many skills are learnt at a later stage in the school of today than in 1960.

The local authorities are free to fix the number of lessons in the individual subjects, as long as it is done within the framework of the Act; they can also determine the educational provision for the pupils in the optional subjects, set up special education, etc. The figures in table 3.3. are therefore slightly different from place to place.

The Primary and Lower Secondary School Act, 1975 prescribes actual guidance as to choice of further studies and careers guidance in all primary and lower secondary schools. However, already before the Act was passed a national practical trainee service scheme in the 8th to 10 th forms as well as the reál forms had been introduced.

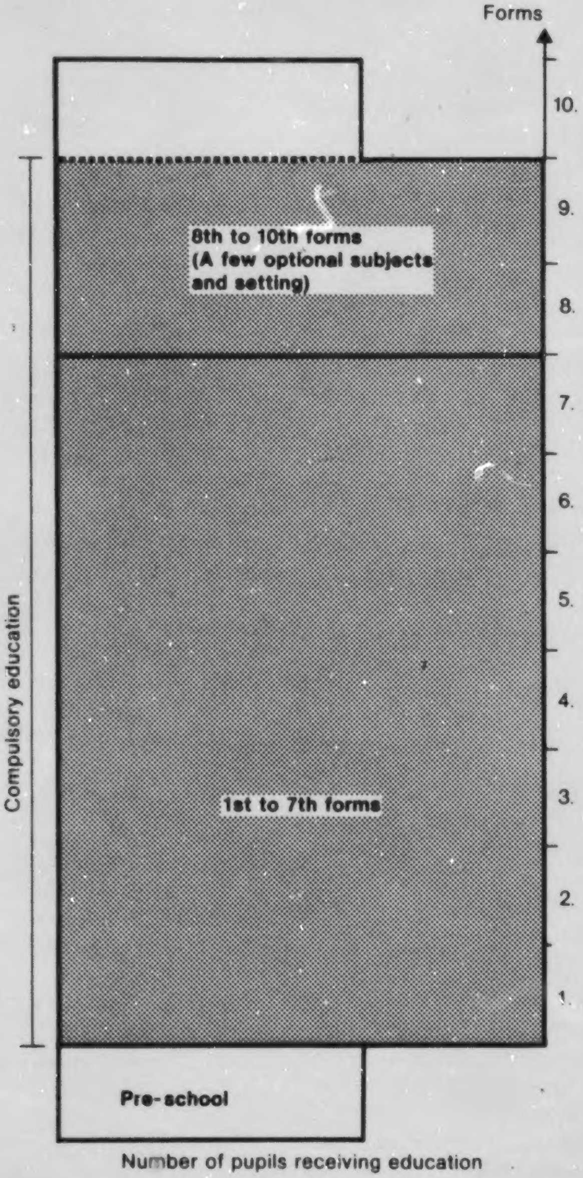
5. Even though the *school building* programme has been fairly extensive over the last 20 years, the present total number of buildings are varying as regards age, size, quality, layout of rooms, and possibility of expansion.

The rooms are primarily fitted up for theoretical classroom-teaching, but a significant proportion of the new schools are designed with more open and varying types of rooms. 25 per cent of the rooms are designed as subject classrooms, for instance for physics, domestic science woodwork, creative art, and similar subjects based on laboratory activities and creative activities.

The average gross area per pupil amounts to approx. 10m^2, but the average in recent years building programs has been 12m^2. The size of the rooms also varies a great deal, even though the majority of the rooms are 50 to 60 m^2.

The annual operational expenditure per pupil in 1976 amounted to approx. Dkr. 6,000 in the lowest forms, and

Figure 3.2. The structure of the Primary and Lower Secondary School after the passing of the Primary and Lower Secondary School Act, 1975.


Forms
10.
9.
8.
7.
6.
5.
4.
3.
2.
1.
8th to 10th forms
(A few optional subjects
and setting)
1st to 7th forms
Pre-school
Compulsory education
Number of pupils receiving education

Source: Information from the Economic-statistical consultant of the Ministry of Education.

about Dkr. 12,000 in the top forms of the Primary and Lower Secondary School. The average figure per pupil a year comes to Dkr. 9,000. (Cf. table 3.4).

6. The Primary and Lower Secondary School Act, 1975 came into operation in 1976, and consequently only few voices have been heard advocating new structural changes of the primary school. Great interest has been shown to fit the content and methods of the teaching into a totality where attemps should be made to soften the rigid settings, demarcations between subjects, and timetables. The equestions of pre-school age and leisure-time activities are at present being deliberated. Some people advocate actual teaching in nursery classes. Other attach more importance to the socializing tasks of the nursery classes and want them therefore to be made compulsory, cf. chapter X.

Table 3.3. School lessons and how they were spent in 1960 and 1976, converted into full hours.

	Hours spent in 1st to 7th forms TOTAL	Hours spent in 1st to 9th forms TOTAL
Danish and Writing	2,130	1,800
Free class discussion ...	–	270
Arithmetic and Matematics	1,130	1,080
Social Studies, Nature Studies, and General science	770	900
Music, Creative Art, Woodwork, Needlework, Domestic Science	750	700
Physical Education	570	540

The calculation is based on 40 weeks of teaching a year, but that is not a realistic basis as time spent on examinations, school camp, trainee service, etc. should be deducted.

Source: Guidelines to Curricula for the Primary and Lower Secondary School.

One of the most important innovations of the Primary and Lower Secondary School Act was the introduction of the optional subject of *vocational studies* for the 8th to 10th forms. This has opened up opportunities of imparting knowledge to the pupils about educational opportunities and employment in trade and industry, for instance through visits to and trainee service in firms and institutions. The subject should be considered to be an element in the increased interaction between the school and society, considered by many to be a central task.

In practice the free choice is restricted by the fact that some of the optional subjects are entry requirements to the upper secondary school.

Similarly the National Union of Danish Teachers would like to see an expansion of the co-operation between society and the school; this could be done by including several practical modules in the subjects and by periodically moving the instruction from the classroom to other places of education or places of work. The Union would also like to see an expansion of the possibilities of including visiting teachers – who are employed outside the school – in the instruction as an element in an educational totality.

The new Primary and Lower Secondary School Act improves the influence of the parents as well as of the pupils on the teaching given in the individual school, and the Act has also strengthened the possibilities of exenting an influence at the local level on the structure of the school and the number of weekly periods in the individual subjects, etc.

It is expected that in many municipalities there will be an overall strengthening of the co-operation between the school and the social and health services, not least with a view to co-ordinating educational provision and the provision of leisure-time activities.

Table 3.4. The operation expenditure per pupil per year, and per candidate for a few selected courses of education 1975–76.

Examples	Operational expenditure per pupil per year		Total expenditure per candidate
	Total	Teachers' salaries of this amount	
Pre-school classes	3,700	2,500	3,700
1st to 10 th form	8,800	6,000	88,000
Upper secondary school	17,000	12,500	53,000
Higher prep. courses	17,000	12,500	40,000
Basic vocational training:			
Machinery and metal-working industries, basic year	26,000	12,000	54,000
Machinery and metal-working industries, 2nd part	7,000	3,500	
Office, basic year	14,000	8,500	18,000
Office, 2nd part	1,300	800	
Continuation schools1)	28,000	12,000	
Folkhigh schools1)	38,000	12,000	
Agricultural colleges1)	31,000	11,000	
Social studies, University of Copenhagen2)	10,000	6,000	106,000
Humanities, University of Copenhagen2)	11,000	7,000	190,000
Natural science, University of Copenhagen2)	45,000	21,000	510,000
The course leading to graduation from the Technical University of Denmark2) (M. of Sc. in Engineering)	71,000	29,000	500,000
Danish Academy of Engineers	43,000	28,000	215,000
Pharmacist2)	37,000	16,000	250,000
Dentist2)	78,000	31,000	470,000
Doctor, including clinical training2)	48,000		400,000
Doctor excluding clinical training2)	34,000	13,000	290,000
Academy of Music2)	51,000	37,000	330,000
Primary school teacher	20,000	17,000	87,000
Librarian	18,000	9,000	75,000

For the courses education extending over less than 12 months the expenditure has been converted into the expenditure on teaching pupils in a period of 40 weeks on the basis of the expenditure per week. The figure should be considered with a certain amount of reservation, as various factors influence them: the figures marked 1) comprise expenses for board and lodging, the figures marked 2) research expenditure. For some courses it is difficult to separate initial expenditure, such as mortgage interest, from operational expenditure. Expenditure on pupils who do not complete the course is included in the expenditure on students completing the education. It is not possible to separate the expenditure on part-time students from expenditure on full-time students.

Source: Educational Analyses 1977, No. 1, 1977, The Economic-statistical Consultant to the Ministry of Education.

7. In connection with the primary and lower secondary school should be mentioned a number of *private schools* offering education concurrently with the education of the primary and lower secondary school. Free schools were established by parents' circles who wanted a school with a particular attitude – religious, pedagogical, etc. – and the private real schools to meet the demand for further education after the pupils had completed primary and lower secondary education, in particular for the ones who did not continue with upper secondary education.

In the 1960s there was increased interest in establishing a number of private 'little schools' providing education pari passu with the primary and lower secondary school.

The alternative pedagogical methods employed by the free schools and the little schools have contributed towards characterizing the development, for instance towards closer co-operation between school and parents.

The number of schools offering education parallel with the primary and lower secondary school has remained unchanged during the last few years. The percentage of children attending such schools is 5 to 6 per cent of children within the compulsory education range. The Primary and Lower Secondary School Act does not seem to have brought towards closer co-operation between about changes in this respect.

8. *The continuation schools* are alternatives for the 14-18-year-olds.

At the beginning of the 1960s the typical pupil at a continuation school was a pupil who had been working in the labour market for one or two years after having completed 7 years of schooling. The pupils were well-motivated for the stay which normally extended over 5 months, and they often came from rural districts.

In the mid-1960s there was a certain decrease of the number of pupils, one of the reasons being the better coverage of the rural municipalities by primary and lower secondary schools (the central schools). As a consequence of this the continuation school introduced 10 month courses. These courses were co-educational and they could replace one year of attendance at a primary and lower secondary school.

At the beginning of the 1970s the number of pupils attending continuation schools rose again. In 1972 possibilities were opened up for completing the extended compulsory education period by attending a continuation school. From 1967 thad been possible to register for the state-controlled examinations at the end of the 9th and 10th forms at the continuation schools. At the beginning of the 1970s the pupils who had to attend a continuation school on account of social problems made up a fairly large proportion of the total number of pupils.

9. *The youth school* is another supplement to the primary and lower secondary school. At the beginning of the 1960s it was essentially a school where young unskilled persons received education after completing primary and lower secondary education. It is now chiefly an opportunity of leisure-time education which is being used by many young people.

The youth school is a municipal school, and in step with a sharply rising number of pupils a need for its own facilities has arisen. This need has as a matter of fact been covered in many municipalities.

The Primary and Lower Secondary School Act, 1975 laid the scene for cooperation in offering teaching for the 8th and 9th forms. This will change the content of the youth school so that it will become a supplement to the formal educational system to a higher extent than was previously the case. It should be noted that the youth school is still mainly a leisure-time opportunity.

A wide range of *leisure-time activities* are provided for this age group, including hobby groups, youth clubs and athletic associations, clubs for children and young people, etc. The majority of young people will at some time or other participate in these activities.

The most important change in these activities over the last few years is the shift from rather narrow aims towards a more open community service type of work.

B. Courses of Education for Youths

10. In 1960 only very few schools had a 10th form line in the general stream, whereas the 10th school year formed a normal part of the stream leading either to reál examination or to upper secondary school. (3rd reál form or 1st upper-secondary form). The 10th year has become very popular, especially during the 1960s, and today approximately 67 per cent of an age cohort are in the 10th form of the primary and lower secondary school or the 3rd reál form. At the same time the number of pupils attending continuation schools has remained unchanged. The pupils attending these schools are in the same age bracket.

Vocational training

11. The most important innovation took place in vocational training for young people. The traditional apprenticeship with practical training in the firm and education in Danish, Arithmetic, Draftsmanship, etc. at an evening school was entirely predominant up to the beginning of the 1960s. As a result of the heavy industrialization this training with its heavy bias on manual skills was no longer felt to be satisfactory, and the number of apprenticeships which could provide a versatile training became too small in relation to the needs of industry for labour with better qualifications.

At the beginning of the 1960s evening classes for apprentices were atlered to *day classes*, and as a consequence of this it was possible to include a far wider range of theoretical elements in these courses, and as a result of the introduction of initial courses in trade and industry part of the practical training was transferred from the firms to the technical schools.

The endeavours to renew and expand the vocationally biased courses of training went in different directions, but it is characteristic that the traditional Danish division of the labour market into unskilled work and relatively highly qualified work has in general been maintained through the extensives reforms.

On the initiative of the Technical Education Committee (set up in 1957) a number of new industrially slanted courses of training were set up approximately at the same time. These courses are based on interchanging periods of schooling and trainee service, and lead to the qualification as technical assistant (6 months of schooling + 12 months of trainee service + 6 months of schooling), and laboratory technologists, and courses for electronics engineers, mechanical engineers, technicians in chemical industry, etc. These new courses did not become as popular as the T. E. C. had expected, but nevertheless they were a considerable expansion of the opportunities for vocational training. In 1976 the intake to these courses was approximately 5,000, cf. table 3.5.

12. In the 1960s there was a heavy fall in the intake of new apprentices. In the technical field this intake was far from offset by the increased intake to the courses of training for junior technicians, and the total result was a drastic fall in the intake to technical training. This in connection with the criticism levelled against the narrow and very specialized apprenticeship training led to the creation of *basic vocational training* (the so-called

Table 3.5. The number of pupils in the municipal primary and lower secondary schools, the corresponding private schools and courses preparing for the reál examination, and the number of pupils attending continuation schools and youth boarding schools 1976-77.

Number of pupils	Municipal private and lower secondary schools	Corresponding private schools	Total
Pre-school forms	45,162	3,621	48,783
1st forms	65,308	4,838	70,146
1st to 9th forms	646,904	44,358	691,302
10th form	45,367	3,467	48,834
Pre-school to 10th form	737,433	51,486	788,919
Remedial class	16,081	86	16,167
Total in private and lower secondary school	753,514	51,572	805,086
Course preparing for reál examination			3,337
Total including reál course			808,423
Continuation schools		9,056[1])	
Youth boarding schools		202[1])	

[1]) The number of pupils who have been admitted to and left the schools in the course of the period August 1, 1976 to July 31, 1977.

Source: For the primary and lower secondary school: Educational Statistics No. 4, Economic-statistical Consultant to the Ministry of Education, June 1977. In the case of continuation schools and youth boarding schools: the National Bureau of Statistics.

EFG) in the second half of the 1960s, and these new courses were intended to take the place of the training of apprentices. This first experiments with this important innovation took place in 1969 in the machinery and metalworking industries, they were continued on a broader basis in 1972. A fixed framework for the system was provided as from 1977. The introduction of the basic vocational training must be seen in connection with the declining intake to apprenticeship training, and the larger importance attached to general education in vocational training, rendered necessary by industrialization.

The basic vocational training consists of a 12-month basic period of training at a school followed by 2 to 3 years of further training, consisting altenately of work and schooling. The basic education holds elements of study from 7 main fields, thus providing an opportunity for a gradual choice of final occupation. At the same time the course has got a broader content with general subjects common to all main fields.

As the same time as there was a heavy fall in the number of apprentices in the commercial and clerical training fields, there was a heavy increase of intake to *the 12 months' course leading to the commercial examination,* wich as a pure school education with no practical work.

This meant an entirely new structure in this part of vocational training as some pupils apply for an apprenticeship at the end of the 12 months of training, white others want to continue in fuhrter education, and some use their training as their only vocational qualification.

13. The reorganization of the system with vocationally biased day courses at *technical schools* and *commercial schools* following the introduction of the Apprenticeship Act, 1956 brought about a need for new facilities, and at the same time the need for technical equipment increased, especially at the technical schools, in step with the development in trade and industry. The result of the reorganization was a heavy concentration of the schools, resulting in the closing down of more than 50 per cent of the schools.

There are now only 51 *technical schools* with a total gross area of approximately 500,000 sq.m. The schools are of varying sizes, both as regards the number of subjects offered by the schools, and the total number of pupils.

They are heavily specialized, as workshop training schools are primarily designed and fitted up for each subject. There seems to be a tendency to adopt standardized industrial building techniques (halls) for new schools.

The practice and workshop rooms cover 60 per cent of the net area. The size of the individual workshops varies, the average being 75 sq.m. The rooms for theoretical teaching cover 25 per cent of the area; Their size and design correspond to other types of schools. The gross area per pupil is set at 22 sq.m.

As a result of the introduction of basic vocational training the need for new buildings will be great in the coming years.

There are 58 *commercial schools* with a total area of approx. 200,000 sq.m. They constitute a more homogeneous whole than the technical schools with rooms for theoretical instruction of generally 45-60 sq.m. The area per pupil is set at 10 sq.m. As a result of the centralization of education wich took place in the 1960s, the commercial schools are primarily situated in towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants.

14. *Agricultural schools* provide vocational training in the agricultural field. Co-operation has been established with the basic vocational training in the basic year farming under basic vocational training; the pupils are then transferred to the traditional agricultural training. At the beginning of the 1960s there was a heavy reduction of the number of pupils at agricultural schools and domestic science schools. This reduction must be seen in connection with the exodus from farming. The number of pupils are now on the increase, one of the reasons being the introduction of courses with a certain amount of general content giving a qualification.

It has been of importance for the agricultural schools that a prope training for farmers is required in order to obtain favourable loans when setting up as a farme ('the green certificate').

The domestic science schools, wich were originally attached to the agricultural schools, now offer a number of cources with varied general content. In addition to the general course of home economies various specialized cources are now offered for jobs in kitchens at institions, such as the training for kitchen supervisors. A few schools offer basic vocational training courses (2nd part) within the food manufacturing field on an experimental basis.

Some of the courses in 10th to 13th year range are outside the scope of planning of the Ministry of Education: courses relating to the Post Office, the Danish State Railways, the customs administration, the nautical field, health and social services, public administration, and courses provided by independent organizations and enterprises.

The preparatory courses also offer higher preparatory courses comprising one subject only, primarily in evening classes. Approx. 8,000 persons a year pass higher preparatory examination subjects at these courses. It is still only an experiment, but the scheme will become permanent when the Act of Single Subject Teaching Preparing for an Examination, 1977, comes into operation in 1978.

Education for young adults constitutes a varied whole, but there is a common tendency to provide a fairly large general (as opposed to specialized) content in the courses. The total number of pupils attending all these courses will appear from table 3.5.

The operational expenditure in 1976 in the 16 to 19 area ranges from Dkr. 14,000 per pupil a year in basic vocational training (commerce and clerical work), via Dkr. 17,000 for students attending an upper secondary school, to Dkr. 26,000 for certain courses of training in the basic vocational training sector (cf. table 3.4).

Schools with Courses Terminating through an Examination

15. The school day at the *upper secondary schools* grew it not longer comprised the hours from 8 AM to 2 PM but became longer because of the intervening hours. This was a consequence of the increase of options of choice opened up by the branching which was introduced in the upper secondary school, and the optional cumculum which is characteristic of the higher preparatory education (a 2-years course) which was introduced in 1967.

As an element in the heavy expansion in this field many new upper secondary schools were established, and the geographical coverage improved considerably during the period. This trend could be maintained as a result of the substantial growth in the total number of students, and at the same time the schools grew in size.

Today there are 112 schools with a total gross area of 800,000 sq.m. With very few exceptions they are situated in the towns at traffic junctions, and they are evenly spread over the country.

The new schools have been built on the basis of centrally prepared standards, and the schools are consequently comparatively uniform. The rooms are designed with a view to holding 24 pupils per class. The ordinary classroom varies in size from 45–60 sq.m., while the specialist and practical rooms – which are 30 per cent of all the classrooms, range from 50–70 sq.m. The gross floorage per pupil is 10 sq.m.

In the period there was a gradual shift towards a social-science entered teaching in the new subjects, such as social studies, biology, etc., and towards skills as for instance fluency in foreign languages, the practical application of physics and chemistry, more teaching of contemporary history, etc. This trend is among other things due to the intake into this type of education of broader strata of the population who do not have a tradition of classical education.

16. Experiments on a small scale are now being conducted aiming at *the co-ordination of the various types of schools*. Deliberations are also being made with regard to including other types of vocational training in the 10th to 13th educational years in the basic vocational training programme. Some of these courses are not managed by the Ministry of Education.

Students participation is a new factor in educational planning. The pupils participate in the planning stages of the teaching in an increasing number of courses of study.

Careers guidance and guidance as to choice of further studies as such is now provided in upper secondary education, higher preparatory education, and basic vocational training. The introduction of guidance into other courses of study is at present being deliberated.

Reforming Efforts

17. During the last few years there has been an increasing understanding that the 10th to the 13th school years should be seen as a whole. The Basic Vocational Training Act opens up possibilities of an establishment over the next few years of a network of basic vocational training to cover the entire nation. In contrast to the folk school area many proposals have been made concerning long-term structural solutions in the 16 to 19 area.

The Social Democratic Party has made a proposal for a resolution presented to the Folketing concerning the co-ordination of the 10th to 12th school years involving a blurring of the clear-cut divisions, more flexible possibilities of transition, and a real opportunity of education for all after 9 years of primary and lower secondary education. A proposal was made to carry out experiments throughout a period of 5 years with a view to finding a new structure.

A committee of government officials, the so-called Højby Committee, has previously made proposals for a more comprehensive system in the 10th to 12th school years. This system should contain a number of basic subjects through all 3 years, a number of optional subjects, and certain so-called, 'major subjects' which were to be aimed at the occupation the student has in mind. A period of basic study was proposed, followed by increasing optional possibilities and specialization throughout the 3 years.

The students' union have put forward a proposal for complete integration. This plan suggests a common basic year followed by a division into 5 main fields. The actual specialization is not to take place until after the 12th school year.

Vocational qualifications and *academic qualifications* are central issues in proposals for reforms of the 10th to 12th school years. The National Union of Upper Secondary School Teachers, the Danish Employers' Confederation, and the Federation of Danish Industries recommend that the upper secondary education should not give vocational qualifications, no more than the courses of vocational training should give academic qualifications.

The Committee for Liberalizations, which has worked on a liberalization of the access to the courses of further education, has proposed that attempts should be made to get a broader definition of academic qualifications, so that not only the upper secondary school leaving examination, the higher preparatory examination, and the higher commercial examination, but also knowledge and experience acquired in untraditional ways will give access to courses of further education.

C. Further Education

18. In 1960 the intake to all courses of further education was approx. 10,000, whereas in 1976 it was approx. 20,000. This heavy expansion was a result of the substantially increased intake to the upper secondary schools and the higher preparatory education.

The numerus clausus at the institutes of higher education, teacher training colleges, the courses for therapeutists, etc. was maintained, and free access to the universities was maintained. Thus the universities came to bear the brunt of the increased intake, and the expansion of capacity of the universities was made dependant on the subjects chosen by the students.

The University of Odense and later on the university centres of Roskilde and Aalborg were established with a view to spreading the required new educational capacity and to increase the possibilities of combining a wider spectrum of traditional courses, and to connect the short courses of further education with the long ones. Short courses of further education have, however, only to a small extent been introduced at these new institution.

As a result of the large increase in intake total building for the courses of further education has been very large in the period under review. In the period from 1960–61 to 1976–77, the State has thus spent approx. Dkr. 4.2 billion in current prices, of which Dkr. 1.3 million was accounted for by institutes of higher education, approx. Dkr. 1.9 billion by universities and university centres, and approx. Dkr. 1 billion by the Rigshospitalet (the State training hospital).

The largest building projects have been the Technical University of Denmark at Lyngby (near Copenhagen), the campus of the University of Copenhagen at Amager, and the Panum Institute (medicine & biochemistry), as well as the University of Odense, and the university centres at Roskilde and Aalborg.

As a result of the numerus clausus which has now been introduced, the large-scale building activity will decrease considerably over the next few years; new building will thus become substitution projects, and building occasioned by the shifting of the educational capacity to the western part of Denmark.

There is a wide gap between the highest level and the lowest level of expenditure in the courses of further education, ranging from Dkr. 10,000 per year per student at the old university (humanities and social sciences) to Dkr. 70,000 for the technically demanding engineering studies. The cost per candidate – or the 'price' – will therefore go from Dkr. 106,000 to Dkr. 500,000, cf. table 3.4.

19. From 1964 to 1974 the Planning Council for Higher and Further Education presented a number of recommendations concerning the expansion of higher education concluding with an *overall plan* for higher and further education 1974–1987. The overall plan has since then been the starting point for further planning.

Humanities and social studies together with the teacher training colleges have experienced the highest rate of expansion in the period from 1960 to 1976. The overall plan proposes a numerus clausus for admission to these studies.

The intake to the teacher *training colleges* has since 1974 been gradually reduced, whereas the increase of the intake to humanities and social studies was stopped in 1977 through the general numerus clausus in pursuance of the Act of 1976. Gloomy job prospects are expected for the candidates from the teacher training colleges, and candidates within humanities and social subjects within the next few years.

However, at the same time universities and other courses of further education give access to an increasing extent to students who have not passed the upper secondary school leaving examination. Educational establishments which traditionally have only admitted students with the upper secondary school leaving examination have now not only provided access for students who have passed the higher preparatory examination, but also for the many persons who have acquired the necessary previous knowledge in untraditional ways.

At the existing univeristies and educational establishments the desire to break the rigid curricula resulted for instance in a wider choice of courses for students, and a modular structure of some of the courses. Such a modular structure with comparatively short and concentrated modules provides an opportunity for a combination of modules from different traditional subjects. However, at the same time this caused problems with regard to having a coherent course. The courses at the Technical University of Denmark are set out as a highly structured modular scheme.

The pedagogical management of the academic courses of education has traditionally been the responsibility of the individual university and institute of higher education, which have also had a considerable freedom of decision as regards finances within the framework of appropriations. The framework within which this autonomy is to work is, however, to an increasing extent determined through an integrated planning in the Ministry of Education and its central councils and committees, among them the academic advison committees.

20. The targets set for the long-term reforms in the sector of further and higher education are:

- improved adaption of the courses of education to the labour market,
- shorter total study time and possibilities of leaving the courses at various stages,
- flexible transition between different courses of education,
- more flexible combinations of courses and improved opportunities of taking part in part-time courses,
- reduced drop-out rate, a concentration of the drop-out rate at the beginning of the course, and observance of the predesigned period of study (the courses should be rendered more efficient).

An important means of realizing these goals would be an expansion of the *guidance service concerning choice of further studies* and *careers guidance* at all educational levels, as well as a closer contact between the educational institutions and the labour market with a view to making the courses of education more viable, and to try to get new emplowment openings for candidates.

At the same time a relief of the long courses of further education should take place through an expansion of *short courses of further education*. This can be done by establishing new courses and by expanding the capacity at already existing courses for instance the courses for senior-technicians.

Another possibility is to give more people access to the institutes of higher and further education by providing single-subject courses at a level corresponding to the one normally taught at the institutions in question. These plans have already been implemented to a smaller extent as persons who do not fulfil the general conditions of admission have been granted permission to attend the course in ordinary classes where there are vacancies.

Among other long-term initiatives should be mentioned the establishment of an experimental scheme concerning the *integration of teacher training courses* through co-operation between certain university subjects, the teacher training colleges and the National Vocational Teacher Training Course (the SEL). The experiment aims at a more flexible educational model with a possibility of transferring credits between the various teacher training courses.

It is an important aspect of the reform work that the rapid technological and social development points towards a less extensive specialization of the basic studies. This also explains the wide acceptance of the various types of recurrent education.

D. Adult Education

21. The activities of the *educational associations* constitute a very large field within adult education. These activities may be divided into 3 parts:

- languages
- practical subjects, and
- social and cultural subjects.

The two first types are 'best-sellers' with a large enrolment, whereas the third group – the social and cultural subjects – is often the one which the private organizations are most interested in.

Table 3.6. The intake of pupils in the scholastic year 1976–77 and the number of pupils in October 1976 attending courses of 16–19 education and various short courses of further education[1]).

The number of pupils	Intake[2])		Number	
General courses		24,003		57,742
Upper secondary educ.	15,490		41,908	
2-year courses leading to upper sec. school leav. examination	1,695		3,152	
Higher prep. courses	6,818		12,682	
Apprenticeship training		21,016[3])		55,362[3])
Machinery & metalworking ind.	6,470		21,814	
Construction	4,110		10,942	
Trade & clerical occupation	8,190		16,819	
Other trades	2,246		5,770	
Basic vocational training		7,654		13,804
Machinery & metalworking ind.	2,080		3,940	
Construction	955		2,239	
Trade & clerical occupation	3,038		4,468	
Other trades	1,581		3 157	
Courses terminating through an examination at commercial schools etc.		14,558		15,836
Commercial examination	11,725		11,662	
Higher comm. exam.	2,514		3,875	
Computer assistant	225		205	
Data operator	94		94	
Basic courses terminating through an exam. at techn. schools etc.		2,544		4,383
Draughtsman	319		386	
Technical assistant	752		1,136	
Laboratory technician	633		1,134	
Workshop training	532		932	
Other courses terminating through an exam.	308		795	
Courses of further study terminating through an exam. at techn. schools[4])		2,444		3,499
Training within social sector[4])		1,280		3,184
Nursery school teachers and recreation centre teachers[4])		2,198		6,433
Training within the health sector[4])		5,218		10,696
Maritime training[4])		386		469
Courses aimed at government service etc.		482		1,765
Basic training for the Police	282		1,200	
Basic course for the Directorate for Prison and Probation	80		80	
The Danish State Railways, clerk.	65		273	
The Post Office, training of probationary clerks	55		212	
Total		81,783		173,173

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[1]) The table comprises essentially courses preparing for a trade or studies which require an examination from the primary and lower secondary school.

[2] The gross intake, i.e. including people who start on a course for the second time.

[3] Comprise also apprenticeships under public institutions, including the government services and a number of the courses of study for sergeants and enlisted privates, as well as under the social rehabilitation scheme.

[4] Part of the intake is accounted for by young people who have passed the upper secondary school leaving examination or the higher preparatory examination, and in some cases the courses are considered courses of further education.

Source: Educational statics No. 1. Economic-statistical Consultant to the Ministry of Education.

Folk high schools constitute another important field.

There has been a trend towards shorter co-educational courses from the traditional 3-months' courses for young women in the summer, and 5-months' courses for young men in the winther. It is however still a requirement that each school shall have at least one 20-weeks' course or 2×12 weeks' courses in order to be publicly assisted. The composition of the student body at the folk high schools has changed, just as in the case of the continuation schools, in that young people from the towns now constitute the dominating group. It is increasingly the function of the folk high schools to be an intermediary stage for further education. This has also contributed towards changing the composition of the student body.

Practical work constitutes an increasing proportion of the teaching at the *folk high schools*. This does not only apply to the schools where practical activities constitute part of the aim of the school, but also to a wide extent to other schools.

The preparatory courses, which are partly municipal and partly run by the educational associations, provide an opportunity for adults to take examinations at the 8th, 9th, and 10th class level. Pursuant to the Act on Single Subject Teaching Preparing for an Examination, 1977 these courses become the responsibility of the counties.

A system of courses for semi-skilled workers was established for the unskilled; the courses which became very popular are very specialized courses lasting 3 to 6 weeks, and there is a possibility of attending several courses lasting the mentioned period. In 1976–77 the total number of participants in these courses were 42,200 (cf. table 3.6.).

The plans for an expansion of adult education are especially aimed at reachin-out work, and they also advocate the increased use of mass media, both at the motivation stage, and in the teaching itself. The mass media have for instance been employed in Sweden and in England, where the Open University attracts attention from all countries.

The Danish Federation of Trade Unions has proposed that at any time 5 per cent of the labour force should be free to study with compensation for lost wages, and with a right to return to the job.

A number of regional adult *teaching centres* have been established with the task of centralizing and co-ordinating the educational offers within the area for the benefit of the teachers in adult education and leisure-time education.

In the spring of 1977 and act was passed which makes it compulsory for the counties to establish and improve the offer of *state controlled examinations for adults*. It is expected that this new system will bring a substantial growth in a coordinated network of education for adults leading to 9th and 10th year of primary and lower secondary school and to the higher preparatory examination.

Adult education employs radio and television programmes to an increasing extent, both as special teaching programmes and in general. The fact that television has become a common commodity in the last 20 years has been an important factor in the educational pattern for the individual.

Finally should be mentioned the increasing further training efforts in *business enterprises, in trade organizations and associations*. It has however not been possible to give an adequate survey of these activities.

The total number of people participating in adult education is in 1977 expected to exceed 1,000,000, cf. table 3.6. The total number of *persons* is somewhat smaller as a number of people attend several courses at the same time or succesively in one year.

Table 3.7. The intake of students in the scholastic year of 1976–77 and the number of students October 1976 at institutions of further education.

Number of students	Intake 1976–77	Of which comprised by the 'total dimensioning framework'	Number as at October 1, 1976
Universities, total	9,579	9,315	53,509
University of Copenhagen	4,858	4,858	30,077
University of Aarhus	2,760	2,735	15,364
University of Odense	832	774[1]	4,236
Roskilde University Centre	377	348[2]	1,508
Aalborg University Centre	752	600	2,324
Institutions of higher education, total	8,968	5,026	28,123
Technical University of Denmark	710	710	3,284
Danish Academy of Engineers of Copenhagen	393	393	1,209
Royal Danish Vet. & Agricultural University	376	341	1,700
Royal Dental Colleges[3]	253	253	1,174
Royal Danish School of Pharmacy	126	126	635
Schools of Economics, Business Administration, and Modern Languages	5,709	2,363[4]	13,873
Schools of Architecture	476	476	2,524
The Danish School of Librarianship	364	364	1,314
Academies of Music	246	–	833
The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies[5]	156	–	1,332
The Danish State Institute for Physical Education	168	–	245
Other further education, total[6]	5,076	4,979	19,706
Teacher training colleges	3,261	3,261	14,398
Engineering Colleges[7]	700	700	2,160
Schools of social work	439	439	1,308
Schools for therapeuts	275	275	855
Domestic science colleges	93	93	204
The Midwife School	59	59	121
Danish School of Journalism	152	152	335
Military Academy	97	–	325
Total, further education	23,623	19,320	101,338

[1] The intake to all courses, excl. physical education (minor subject + subject teacher).

[2] The intake to basic courses.

3) Only dental surgery graduate courses.

4) The intake to the H.A. courses (Bachelor of Economics) and the bilingual secretarial courses.

5) Only the graduate studies.

6) Some of these courses do however recruit young people who have not passed the upper secondary school leaving examination or the higher preparatory examination, cf. table 3.6, footnote 4.

7) Excl. admittance courses.

Source: Educational Statistics No., 1, the Economic-statistical Consultant to the Ministry of Education, February 1977.

Table 3.8. Participation in adult education and leisure-time education in the scholastic year of 1976–77. The figures indicate the total number of course places covered in the mentioned educational activities in the course of a 12 months' period. In certain cases these figures will considerably exceed the number of persons who have participated in the educational activities, as one person can participate in several courses.

Educational activity		
Labour market courses		66,783
Courses for semi-skilled workers	42,209	
Retraining for updating, skilled workers	22,263	
Retraining for redeployment	325	
Special training for young people preparing for a vocation	1,986	
Vocational courses		69,692
State-controlled examination in one subject	15,628	
State-controlled higher exam. in one subject	8,526	
State-controlled special course (diploma in specialized business studies)	35,588	
Other public vocational training	9,950	
Leisure-time education preparing for an examination		89,752
9th to 10th class level	57,601 1)	
Higher prep. courses, single subjects	32,151 1)	
High schools etc. (free schools)		16,431
Folk high schools	9,483	
Agricultural schools	3,477	
Domestic science schools	2,095	
Maritime, navigation, and hometrade master schools (nautical schools)	1,421	
University extension courses		28,000 2)
Other leisure-time education		1,103,871
General leisure-time education	551,598	
Lectures	61,863	
Special education	34,988	
Vocational courses	13,244	
Youth schools	142,178	
Interest groups for children and young people .... approx.	300,000 2)	
Other vocationally slanted courses		120,000 3)
Employer and trade organizations	10,000 3)	
Labour organizations	30,000 3)	
Private promoters	30,000 3)	
Internal firm courses	50,000 3)	
Various public retraining and further training activities 4)		18,000 4)

[1] As at December 1, 1977.

[2] Estimate.

[3] Estimate subject to considerable uncertainty. The figures do not cover the scholastic year of 1976–77 only.

[4] Estimate. Comprise certain retraining and/or further training measures under the Ministry of the Interior (nurses), the Ministry of Social Affairs (children and youth care), (the care of the mentally deficient, domestic helps, etc.) the Ministry of Justice (the Police and the Directorate for Prison and Probation), the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, (the Liturgical etc. School for Intending Clergymen), the Ministry of Cultural Affairs (libraries, film schools), the Ministry of Finance (the High School of Public Administration), the Ministry of Education (the courses organized by the Royal Danish College of Educational Studies, the National Vocational Teacher Training Course, etc.), the government services (the Danish State Railways, the Post Office and the Customs Service), the Municipal High School.

Source: Material obtained from the Economic-statistical Office and the National Bureau of Statistics. Labour Market Courses: Statistics: 1976–77, July 1977.

Chapter IV

Student Expectations and Labour Market Conditions

A. The Educational Pyramid

1. The preceding chapters give an account of the sweeping expansion of the educational system, and of the vast differentiation of educational opportunities which has taken place over the last 20 years.

Figures 4.1. and 4.2. give an overall summary of the system of educational opportunities in the so-called *educational pyramid* in 1937 and in 1977. Vertically is recorded the period over which the various educational offers extend and horizontally is recorded the total number of places being offered at each educational stage. The total number of places at the bottom, i.e. in the primary and lower secondary school, thus corresponds to the number of children in any particular year.

Althoug the two figures are simplified they give a very clear indication of the *characteristic imbalance of the structure* in the educational system; if the two figures are compared they will illustrate the changes in the period from 1937 to 1977.

The traditional triparte educational system was still dominant in 1937:

- the 7-year primary and lower secondary for everybody
  courses of vocational training etc. comprising approx. 30 % of the students of any particular year, and
- middle school/real school/upper secondary school as the exclusive opportunity for a minority; of this minority only a very low percentage, 3–4 per cent, of the total number of students of any particular year embarked on a course of higher or further education.

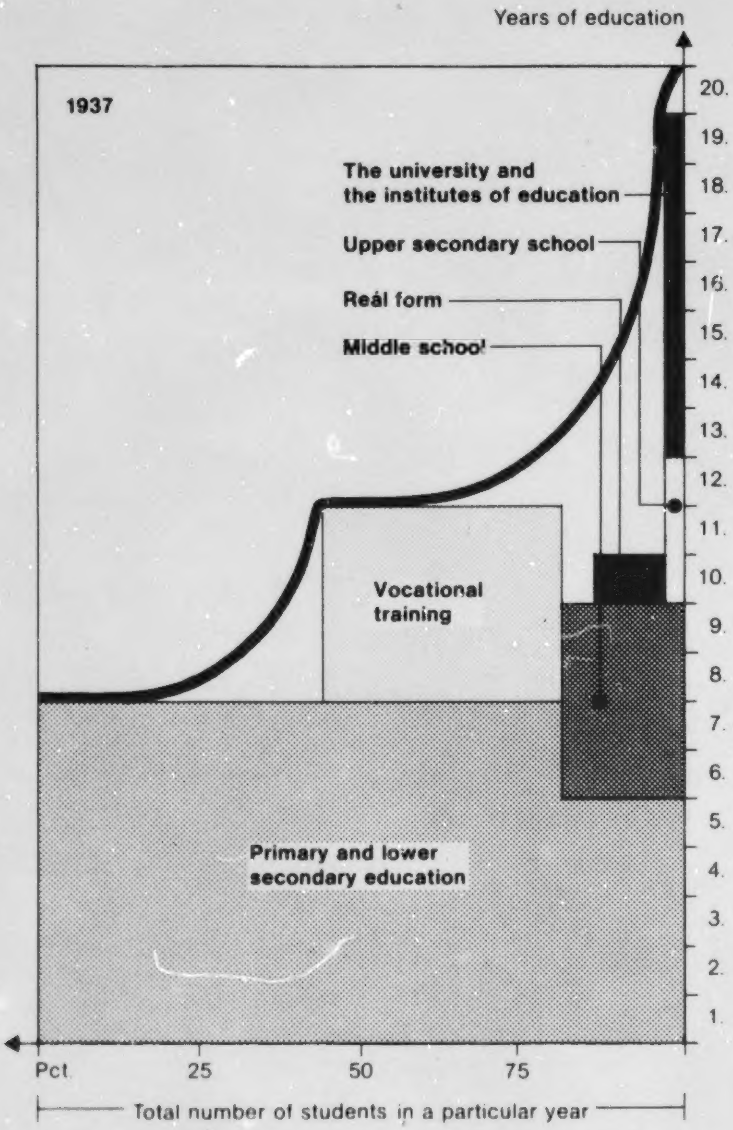
As early as in 1937 this simple pattern was supplemented with various relatively short specialized courses of study, but close on *50 per cent of the students of any particular year entered the labour market direct from primary and lower secondary education.* Only a very small percentage of these received a short supplementary education at a later stage, for instance at an agricultural school, a commercial school, or a folk high school.

Much more than 50 per cent of the residual group were women who at that time were more motivated for becoming homebound wives and mothers than for entering the labour market, (where in fact there was no room for them).

In 1977 the basis for everybody is 9 years of primary and lower secondary education, but approx. 85 per cent of the students of any particular year will receive more education than that. Most attend a primary and lower secondary school for 10 years, and the majority embark on a course of study with a vocational bias. Approx. 30 per cent enter the upper secondary school or the higher preparatory courses, and a total of 25 per cent continue their studies by following a short or long cource of further education.

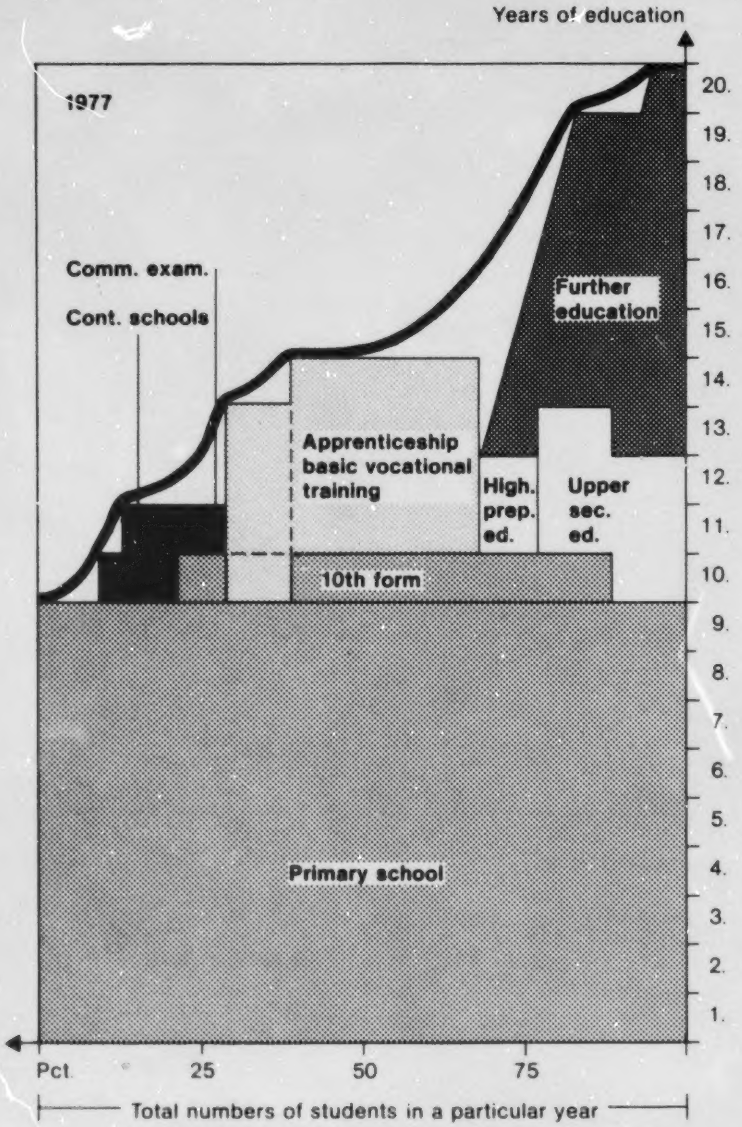
The foundations of the pyramid are now more solid, and all of the upper sections have become much broader. All young people are educated for a larger number of years, and at the same time

Figure 4.1. The educational pyramid 1937. Only a very small percentage of the population pursued and completed a course of study. In the case of the main part of the population there were only 2 possibilities: to pursue a course of vocational training or to leave the educational system after 7 years of schooling and not return. The residing group – shown to the left – amounted to almost half of the total number of students of any particular year. The bold line indicates the top of the educational pyramid. Allowance has been made for the fact that a wide range of other courses exist in addition to the ones shown in the figure.



Source: Statistical Year-book, the Danish National Institute of Social Research and the National Bureau of Statistics: General conditions in Denmark 1976.

Figure 4.2. The educational pyramid 1977. The situation has changed very much since 1937. The opportunities are greater today. To the extreme left are shown the residual group which still exist, even though the educational opportunities have been made very much larger. The bold line indicates the top of the educational pyramid. Cf. figure 4.1.



Source: Material from the Economic-statistical Division of the Ministry of Education.

there are *far more opportunities* to choose from in each section.

But even though the pyramid has thus become less pointed it remains a pyramid; more than 25 per cent of the young people leaving the 9th or 10th classes still enter the labour market without any further education. Some of them will return to the educational system at a later stage, especially the age group of 18–22 years, to get a training qualifying for a trade.

But there is still a *risidual group of approx. 20 per cent* who can only make do with their school education and the knowledge they may gradually acquire by attending a course of adult education. Appendix 2 and 3 expounds the concept of the residual group and the difficulties of obtaining a more precise statistical survey.

2. The figures 4.1 and 4.2 show how many stages there are in the educational system, and figure 4.3 gives and idea of the age *distribution of the students following a course of education.*

The vertical dispersion is greater because some students spend two years at one educational stage, because some students change from one course to another and to some extent have to 'start all over again' in the new courses, and because some of the students are transitionally outside the educational system. Thus there are for instance a number of 17-year-olds in the primary and lower secondary education system, and 24-year-olds in vocational training.

During the last few years the trend seems to have been that the average age becomes higher and higher at the end of the various educational stages. This may perhaps be due to the fact that the net length of each year's work in the courses tend to become increasingly shorter.

B. Who Decides?

3. What factors decide the form and structure of the educational pyramid at a given time?

What are the mechanism distributing the flow of young people over the system?

The answers to these two basic questions are not quite simple; at any rate it is not enough merely to say that the school is the sorting machine regulating the flow of students.

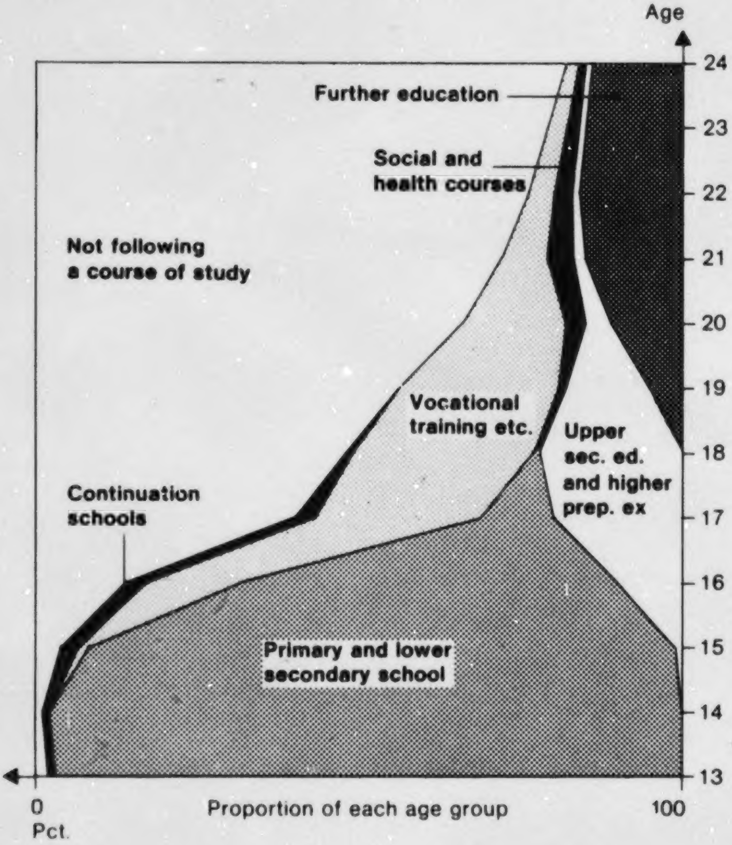
Figure 4.3. Table

	Age											
Percentage	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Primary and Lower sec. school ..	97	98	92	68	11	1	1					
Upper sec. school and Higher prep. education			1	10	21	22	13	4	2	1	1	1
Vocational training				4	24	27	25	16	8	3	2	2
Social and health courses							1	3	4	3	2	1
Tertiary*) education							5	5	11	14	15	15
Continuation schools etc.	1		3	3	3	1						
Other courses						2	1	1		1	1	1
Not participating in a course of education	2	2	4	14	40	48	56	66	72	76	79	82
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*) Tertiary: University and corresponding levels.

Source: Register of pupils, the National Bureau of Statistics.

Figure 4.3. The students following a course of study in the age groups 13 to 24 years distributed according to age on a number of courses. 1974–75. Up to the age of 15 the primary and lower secondary school is dominating; then the upper secondary education, higher preparatory education, and vocational training become predominant with the continuation schools as a special supplement. At the age of 18 only 50 per cent of the young people are following a course of formal education. At the age of 18 to 19 the courses of further education begin to dominate, with the social and health lines, but vocational training etc. is still important. The figure does *not* show how the young people flow throught the system but only where they were at the given time in 1975.



4. Seen by *each pupil* or each family, it will often seem as if he/she chooses independently how long he/she will continue at schoole after having completed the period of compulsory education, and it will also seem as if the young person chooses the vocational training he or she wants after having completed schooling, or perhaps prefers to enter the labour market direct from the school.

It can perhaps be concluded from this that it is the young people's expectations or the wishes and ambitions of the parents in respect of the education of their own children that make themselves felt and characterize the structure of the educational system. In other words that it is the flow of students that shapes the system, and not the system that shapes the flow. Such a view would tally with an idealistic demand that the educational system shall adjust to the wishes of the population for education, and that it shall provide access for everybody to develop skills and competences.

There is no doubt that parents and pupils often feel that they are free to choose, and often they feel that the situation in which they are to choose is very difficult, whereas they are naturally not aware of the fact that their choice is conditional upon a number of social conditions which govern their decisions.

Many surveys confirm, however, that educational choice is in fact heavily influenced by the social, financial, and cultural status of the parents, including not *least their educational status*. This issue will be discussed later.

It is however equally important that the *educational opportunities from which the young people are to choose* are decisively dependent on the trends in society, and especially by the structure of productive industry as a whole, as well as by work processes and working conditions in the various trades and in the individual firms.

Thus changes in the educational pyramid from 1937 to 1977 primarily reflect the important developments in the business sector of the community after the War, and the consequent changes in the demand of the business enterprises for labour with specific qualifications. The classical concept of a labour market divided into a few large groups – labourers, workers, shopkeepers, farmers, manufacturers, liberal professions, and civil servants – has gradually been superseded by an extraordinarily complicated network of highly specialized functions. This development has taken place at all levels. At one end of the scale workmen have been superseded by a ramified system of semi-skilled workers. The midsection now comprises an extensive and differentiated group af salaried employees who often handle entirely new tasks. And at the other end of the scale the tasks of the civil servants have become far more specialized than before, and the courses at this level have also been adapted to the requirements of the 'users', i.e. the public institutions.

C. Labour Market Dominance

5. The way in which the demand for labour from the productive sector – or to put it more correctly, from the productive sector and the public institutions – makes itself felt and characterizes the structure and scope of the educational system is complicated and difficult to grasp, but in principle the mechanisms are the same which characterize our society with a market economy as the predominant feature.

The market mechanism for education or for labour with different qualifications is in some respects distinct from the market mechanism for goods and services.

The free interplay between educational supply and demand works to some extent through other and more indirect channels than supply and demand in respect of privately produced goods.

One of the reasons is that educational 'commodities' are publicly provided free services subject to political control; another is the fact that a number of other *'participants'*, such as labour and management and their organizations exert an influence on the 'commodities'. But both the executive political management of the educational system and the more limited interventions of professional and industrial bodies must necessarily make allowance for the powerful underlying market forces.

Another important factor which sets the *'educational market'* apart is the fact that labour is not a 'dead' commodity but human beings with their own ideas, interests, and behaviour patterns. The persons who want to follow a course of study are themselves 'participants' in the process of framing the system. This certainly contributes to the existence of a large number of powerful professional and industrial bodies precisely in this field, and it gives the connection between the forces of the labour market a special character. Supply and demand get a dimension which is unknown in other 'markets'.

It is not least the marked differences in the level of wages and salaries and the wage/salary structure and the structure of employment – so characteristic of contemporary society – that influence the differences in educational level.

There is only limited exact information available concerning these aspects, one of the reasons being that statistics do not offer possibilities of linking up information on education, incomes, and position in the labour market. In spite of tre great political interest attaching to this issue, few people have shown an interest in studying these problems. Consequently we can only illustrate the connection by means of a number of examples in this report, but such examples cover a very large proportion of the labour market.

6. The following 5 categories of wage and salary earners will be discussed; the categories are typically different, both in level of income and level of education:

a) employers and executives
b) university graduates and teachers
c) skilled workers
d) unskilled male labour
e) unskilled female labour.

There is some uncertainly as to the educational background of group (a).

In past years there was a particularly large diversity in the educational background of managers, but the trend clearly seems to be that new managers are extensively expected to be graduates; this is also the case in the private sector.

In the case of groups (b) to (e) there is a very clear correlation with the educational background.

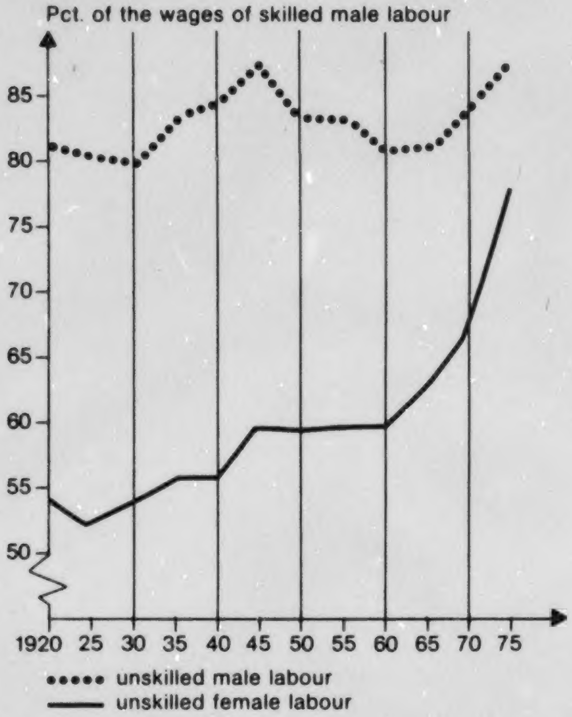
In terms of incomes there is also a clear division as regards level of income, with the large incomes in groups (a) and (b), and the small incomes devolving upon groups (d) and (e). The situation is of course complicated by the many different types of employment and principles of remuneration, differences in the rules governing pensions, etc. But apart from all these details the overall picture is clear.

It will be most easy to illustrate *the characteristic differences and shifts in the level of wages between the groups 'skilled male labour', 'unskilled male labour', and 'female labour'* on the basis of the wage statistics compiled by the Danish Employers' Confederation covering a fairly large section of the labour market with special emphasis on trade and industry. The large traditional fields of employment for *women* – such as domestic work, health and social services, and business and clerical occupations – are inadequately covered by the survey.

The relative differences in hourly wages between skilled male labour and unskilled male labour, and between skilled male labour and (unskilled) female labour is illustrated by the two curves in figure 4.4.; the curves cover the period from 1920 to 1973.

Despite a number of agreements with special schemes for lowwage groups, and despite the reduction of wage differentials brought about by cost-of-living adjustments, there has only been a very limited reduction of the differences in the hourly wages of skilled and unskilled male labour over the past 50 years. However, there have been periodic changes of the balance; the unskilled workers have improved their relative position particularly in periods with a high rate of em-

Figure 4.4. The upper curve shows the hourly wages of unskilled male labour as a percentage of the wages of skilled male labour. The lower curve shows the hourly wages of unskilled female labour as a percentage of the wages of skilled male labour.



Source: Peder Jørgen Pedersen, Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift (Economic Journal), 1976, p. 309.

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ployment, as for instance during the War, and in the 1960s.

The development has been fairly different for various groups of skilled and unskilled workers, especially as a result of relative shifts in the demand on the labour market.

The decisive cause of differences in level of income seems to have been such *differences in vocational qualifications* which are the result of differences in education.

7. Furthermore it has been of importance that the situation in the *supply* sector throughout the period has been characterized by the fact that there has constantly been a 'residual group' which was sufficiently large to cover the demand for unskilled labour at the wage offered. There may be a connection with the aspect of the development that *unskilled work is to an increasing extent* being taken over by women who continue to be considerably cheaper labour than un-

skilled men. The typical shift has not been that women have taken over that was previously men's work, but on the contrary that women have taken over a number of new fields created by the development in the business sector. Particularly since the beginning of the 1960s there has for instance been a rapidly *increasing demand for female labour for public institutions*.

The relative improvement of women's pay compared with men's pay has taken place for almost all groups of female workers, and this must to some extent be seen in the light of the fact that women were previously underpaid, one of the reasons being the traditional pattern of sex roles.

8. Whereas it is not difficult to compare levels of income for the variout groups of hourly/weekly rated labour, it presents difficulties to compare the wages of such groups with university graduates, etc., because the principles of remuneration are so different.

The annual incomes in tax forms are for instance blurred by capital incomes and by the many allowances permitted by taxation legislation. Nonetheless, these averages show marked differences between the groups (cf. table 4.5.).

Many attempts have been made to procure figures which are more somparable. In the case of the so-called *calculations of total income during working life* regard has been paid to differences in periods of earnings for workers and university graduates. The latter start earning money several years later than the workers on account of the long period of education, and their income normally increases step by step through the first 15 years after graduation, whereas in principle the worker's wages are not regulated in step with seniority, and in practice they do not increase at the same rate as the incomes of university graduates.

Table 4.5. Average taxable incomes in 1975 for sample groups of wage and salary earners. They have been placed according to educational status if possible. (Before tax figures).

	Dkr.
Medical doctors	170,100
Teachers at universities, upper sec. schools, etc.	123,900
Executive technical staff	101,200
Primary and lower secondary school teachers, etc.	77,500
Kindergarten teachers, youth centre teachers, etc.	54,000
Printers, compositors, etc.	70,600
Bricklayers	55,100
Smiths, engine fitters, mechanics	58,400
Joiners	54,000
Laboratory assistants, draughtsmen	52,900
Drivers	56,400
Storemen and commercial assistants	49,500
Sewers, dressmakers, etc.	39,700
Housemaids, etc.	37,400

Source: The National Bureau of Statistics.

The results of such calculations of total income during working life for 1960, 1970, and 1975 are found in Appendix 1. The calculations show typical differences in the total income during working life corresponding to the educational level of the groups in question. All incomes have risen very steeply throughout the entire 15 year period (on an average they have quadrupled), but not at the same rate.

Thus it is possible firstly to ascertain a *considerable relative improvement of the incomes of the highly salaried from 1960 to 1970*, in which year the comprehensive wage and salary reform began to tell. One of the reasons may be the rapidly increasing demand in the 1960s for university graduates and teachers with the ensuing considerable scarcity.

Secondly, *a clear change in the opposite direction may be ascertained from 1970* *to 1975*, perhaps because the increase of public demand for university graduates, etc. was curbed, and because the number of university graduates began to increase as a result of the great expansion during the 1960s in higher and further education.

The reduction of wage differentials has quite clearly continued after 1975, one of the reasons being an intervention in the cost-of-living adjustment.

9. *Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen and Jørgen Jensen*)* would like to stress that the tendency for an equalization has *accelerated* after 1975, in which year the cost-of-living adjustments of wages and salaries in the public sector were changed from a regulation in percentage points in step with price increases to a fixed amount in 'øre' per hour for all employees. At the same time the wage advances as a result of collective bargaining have been very limited. There has thus been a relative equalization of wages and salaries, and a considerable decrease of real earnings for the high salaries paid to workers and employees in the public sector and for salaries in the private sector which follow the wage increases in the public sector.

10. This summary information concerning incomes statistics *illusstrates the rough but important connection between the level of wages* (and level of total income during working life) *on the one hand, and the educational level on the other*. Broadly speaking, *people with a high level of education* have a total income during their working life which is well over twice as high as the income of *unskilled* male labour, whereas *skilled* workers on an average have an income which is 20–30 per cent higher than that of unskilled men, and 30–50 per cent higher than that of *unskilled women*.

However, the advantages attached to having a high educational level do not stop here. Money income is extremely important, but there are many other life qualities corrected with the work of people with a high level of education.

As a rule they have greater job security, and the fact that wages automatically increase throughout the first 15-year period gives another perspective to the life of young people. The work of people with a high level of education is on an average more interesting and varied, and it is important that they have better individual opportunities to organize their own work.

It is not possible to compute all these life qualities in monetary terms, but they are most certainly desirable.

Another factor is that *the long courses of further/higher education almost automatically give access to executive positions* in firms. This is probably why they have been called 'management courses'. This is not a precise term if it is to be taken to mean that academic education *directly qualifies for managerial functions*.

But it may be true in the sense that upper secondary education plus a cource of further/higher education *socialize the students for a later managerial role* – and in many cases, and often at a comparatively early age, they lead to an executive position. This appointment is often made without the firm having ascertained that the person in question has a sufficient knowledge of working conditions, staffing policy, and managerial functions. Such practice will create an unreasonable advantage over far older and more experienced colleagues with a shorter educational background.

11. The comments above do not relate to the self-employed person. Incidentally, selfemployed persons are rarely ever dealt with literature on education and trade.

One of the reasons for this is perhaps that they constitute a far smaller proportion of the population than wage and salary earnes. *There are a total of upwards of 300,000 fully employed* private entrepreneurs – primarily in farming and commerce. This figure corresponds to the total number of industrial workers. To this should be added a number of wives assisting in their husband's trade, although in the majority of cases they tend to be employed parttime.

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*) See member list.

Another reason is the fact that there is very little statistical data available relating to the educational situation of self-employed people; the data is in fact even more scanty than in the case of employees.

In terms of income and social status the group of self-omployed people is even less homogenous than the groups of wage earners, (cf. table 4.6.)

Table 4.6. The average taxable annual income 1975 for a few selected groups of self-employed (before tax).

	Dkr.
The liberal professions	114,900
Wholesalers	88,800
Manufacturers	70,800
Builders	78,800
Joiners	52,900
Grocers (retail)	56,900
Painters	51,300
Haulage contractors, etc.	44,900
Farmers	36,500
Smallholders	31,300
Gentlemen's and ladies' hairdressers	26,000

Source: The National Bureau of Statistics.

The spreading of incomes for the self-employed is greater than these average figures indicate, as there is a far greater differences within the individual groups than in the wage earner groups. There are large groups of people with low incomes among the self-employed people in the productive age groups.

The comparison of money incomes for self-employed persons and wage earners is difficult, as the concept of income is not the same for the two groups. Often self-employed persons have another attitude to the qualities of life which partly compensates for a lower money income.

Only a limited number of self-employed people outside the liberal professions have a background of further education, and they are primarily found among self-employed persons with large-scale activities. The social status of the self-employed is also connected with the size of their enterprise, not least the number of employees. Comparatively many self-employed may be bracketed in the residual group as regards education; this is especially the case with small farmers, small retailers, haulage contractors, etc.

A contributory factor is of course the fact that self-employed people are only required to hold some sort of 'certificate' within very few fields, i.e. where an official authorization is required. Whereas the position of the employee in working life is often conditional upon having passed some kind of examination and on membership of a particular organization, the self-employed has much more freedom to set up for himself in business.

However, it is quite clear from the development in the business sector that a general raising of the educational level will also be of great importance for the future possibilities of these groups, and the educational system must also take the interests of this large population group into consideration.

D. Supply and Demand

12. The connections illustrated in the above between education, role of work and wages are hard facts which have been decisive of the development of our educational system. Such facts must also be taken into consideration when preparing an educational policy which has a broader basis of equality.

It cannot be taken for granted that the labour market demands show an un-biased and rationally motivated idea of what the enterprises need in a given situation technically and financially. The managers may have traditional ideas of for instance the organization of the work processes and the distribution of duties at the work places. The traditional patterns in this respect are often additionally cemented through the structure of organizations and the agreements, in some cases through government regulations and arrangements of authorization.

In periods characterized by a high rate of dynamic technological development and economic expansion – such as we have experienced since the War, the need of the business enteerprises for innovation becomes strong, and more comprehensive innovations can be introduced. The setting up of the Council of Technicians in 1957, and its proposals to establish a number of new courses of education – 'middleranking technicians' – illustrate this. And it turns out to be possible to break with customary ideas of what can be done in fields where entirely new productions are introduced and develop explosively, as was for instance the case with the computer industry in the 1960s. Although the 'need for labour with specific qualifications voiced by the productive sector' cannot be given a crystal clear definition, the decisive factors for the determination of the vocational qualifications have been the production trends in connection with existing traditions for the organization of production and work routines. As regards the courses of further and higher education, the organizations representing the different professions – doctors, upper secondary school teachers, architects, lawyers, etc. – and not least the public authorities in their capacity as employer have influenced the qualification requirements together with the labour market.

13. In short it may be said that it is characteristic of the 'educational market' that the following 3 factors influence the situation:

1) *The demand for education* is on the one hand *business* or a labour market demand for labour with specific qualifications. In connection with this industrial and trade organizations have in many ways exerted a very direct influence on the concrete content and extent of the individual courses.

This influence primarily affects the elements giving vocational qualifications in the courses, but it contributes towards giving these elements a disproportionate amount of importance in the total educational picture.

2) The demand for education is however on the other hand the *wishes* expressed by the *students* (the 'labour') for getting a well-defined place in the labour market as well as in society and life throught education. Many courses of study are simply necessary to get access to a specific career or social position, and the students also have a tendency to let consideration of the influence which a giver education will have on their chances on the labour market have priority over the 3 other lives.

3) Finally, the *public authorities* act as a partly independent factor, when the public authorities are the normative, financing, dimensioning, and partly executive participant. It is the duty of the public authorities to find a reasonable balance between the consideration for the needs of trade and industri, and the consideration for the 3 other lives. At the same time the public authorities must make allowance for special aspects relating to social policy and distribution policy in the educational policy. Political considerations about labour market and economic activity influence the political decisions in many situations.

The complicated interaction between these 3 factors 'decide' the dimensions and lay-out of the educational system. If it is so difficult to decide which of 3 factors decide what, it is very much due to the fact that the 3 factors are not independent of each other.

The public, i.e. political decisions are influenced by the wishes expressed by parents and puyils as well as by the demands of the business enterprises, and also by the general political opinion about the structure of the educational system.

The demands put forward by the employers are a direct element in the educational political decision-making process in several fields, not least in respect of the courses of vocational training.

The wishes expressed by pupils and parents are clearly subject to the prevailing ideas in society in general, and family traditions in particular, but they are furthermore characterized by concrete prospects of employment and of wages, as well as the family's economic possibilities.

In a number of fields the intake to the various courses of study is furthermore influenced by *the actual supply*, e.g. the number of apprenticeships. This is particularly true in the short term. The inequality of opportunity is also a question of geographical differences.

Thus the 'needs of produktive industry' influence the wishes of parents and pupils and the political decision-makers via different channels, but they are of course directly and importantly reflected in the demands put forward by the business enterprises for specific qualifications in specific amount at specific prices.

Finally, there may be a repercussion on future employment openings from the intake of people who have completed a course in a specific field. Thus is was said in the late 1950s in the debate on increased educational possibilities for engineers and other technicians that a considerable expansion of these courses would gradually start developments in the business sector thus creating new demands for employment openings for engineers, etc.

Another factor known especially in the public sector is the increased influx into a specific field of labour with an education, frequently people who have completed a course of higher education, with the result that they try to press the State and the local authorities to establish additional positions so that they can get a job.

E. Geographical Differences

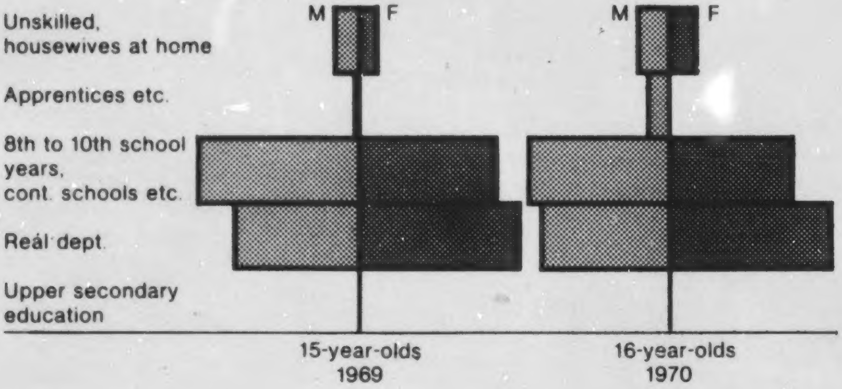
14. Previously there have been very considerable differences with regard to educational opportunities in the various parts of the country. The educational pyramid for the counties in West Jutland has a shape that is entirely different from the educational pyramid for the country taken as a whole – not to mention the Greater Copenhagen area taken by itself.

To a very large extent the geopraphical imbalances in education have reflected differences in the development and financial circumstances of the students, the local educational opportunities have been adjusted to local trade conditions, etc.

The geographical pattern for education in the post-war period has been characterized by a reduced imbalance. One of the explanations mey be found in developments in the business sector which have been characterized by the fact that industry has moved west, and by the fact that there has been a heavy urban development and a nationwide improvent of transport facilities. Another explanation for this change in the geographical pattern is the endeavours to create equality in the educational policy and a general regional development policy aiming at strenghthening the financially weak parts of the country.

Even though there has thus been a quite decisive geographical harmonization, it is still questionable whether there is a sufficiently even spread of the educational provision. Of course there are financial limitations to the scope of the

Figure 4.7. Young People in the process of training or education in 1973; by social group of their parents.



efforts; if the country is divided into small units they will always differ among themselves. By way of example may be mentioned the many island communities which constitute almost insoluble problems.

Future efforts to remove geographical imbalances will not least be dependent on the expansion of the opportunities in the 10th to the 13th school years as suggested in chapter X.

F. The Pattern of Sex Roles

15. In several respects the educational pyramid for girls differs from the educational pyramid for boys. But this difference is also far smaller now than it was before – a consequence of the changing role for women in a number of respects.

As has been mentioned the position of women on the labour market is now far stronger than it was previously, and this trend has continued throughout the economic crisis of the last few years, when the number of women working in the labour market has increased steadily, albeit not in all trades and with a large number of women working part-time.

At the beginning of the 1960s the residual group of girls was considerably larger than the residual group of boys. The difference seems now to have been reduced, but it still exists.

In Appendix 2 Bente Ørum discusses the so-called 'rolling survey' carried out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research; this survey illustrates some important differences for boys and girls in education:

There are only few differences between children of the age of 15, but slightly more boys and girls have left school, (cf. figure 4.6.).

At the age of 16 more girls leave school without getting an apprenticeship. There are relatively more girls in the reál department*).

At the age of 17–19 there is a predominance of boys in the upper secondary school.

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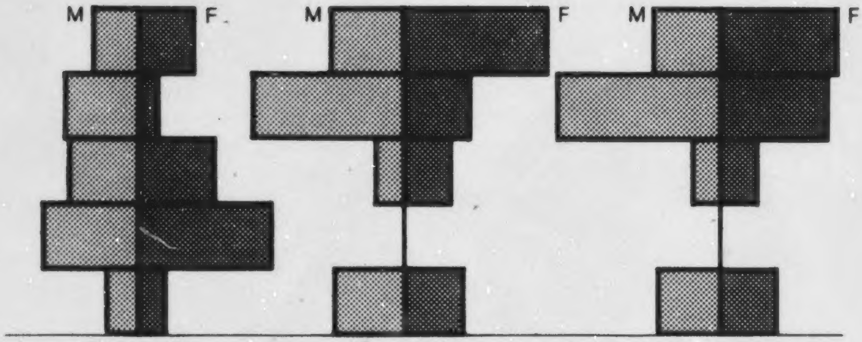
*) See note pag. 18.



17-year-olds
1971

18-year-olds
1972

19-year-olds
1973

Figure 4.7. Differences in the pattern of sex roles among the 15 to 19-year-olds. The distribution is taken from the 'rolling survey' carried out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research. This survey follows pupils who in 1968 attended 7th form. At the age of 16 there are more girls than boys in the reál department, but at the same time more girls than boys leave school without starting on a course of vocational training. At the age of 17 there is the same pattern; there is a predominance of girls in the reál department, and a predominance of boys following a course of training for apprentices. At the age of 18 they have all completed primary and lower secondary education. There is a slight predominance of boys in the upper secondary school at this time. Among the persons who have left school there is a clear predominance of unskilled and homebound housewives, while there is a predominance of boys among the apprentices. This situation is not very different for the 19-year-olds.

Figure 4.7. Table

Percentage	15 years		16 years		17 years		18 years		19 years	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Unskilled	8	6	10	9	14	18	23	45	21	37
Apprentices, etc.	2	0	7	1	23	7	47	21	51	34
8th–10th years, etc.	50	43	44	39	22	24	9	15	9	12
Reál dept.	39	50	40	51	30	42	0	0	0	0
Upper sec. educ.	0	0	0	0	10	9	21	19	20	18
Totalt	99	99	101	100	99	100	100	100	101	101

B = Boy. G = Girl.

Among the pupils leaving school the boys find it much more easy to get an apprenticeship than the girls. In addition to this the trades chosen by girls are different from the ones chosen by boys. The majority of pupils preparing for the 1-year commercial examination are girls. Despite of the fact that at the age of 19 the girls also begin to get a share in the apprenticeships, there are still 37 per cent girls without any training after compulsory education in this age group. Many of these have passed the real examination. Some of the girls who leave the educational system at an early stage will enter it again in a number of 'white uniform trades', where there is an age limit, as for instance for student nurses. The girls will generally get the shortest education, and thus also often the jobs with the lowest wages.

The improved equality between boys and girls is perhaps most predominant in the content of the teaching and the work of the school. Boys' schools and girls' schools were common as late as in the 1940s, and separate schoolyards existed up to the late 1960s. The traditional division into subjects for boys and subjects for girls was abolished by virtue of the amendment to the Primary and Lower Secondary School Act, 1970. According to the Act boys and girls should be taught together in Woodwork, Needlework, and Domestic Science, and the Primary and Lower Secondary School Act, 1975 continued the efforts to disintegrate the traditional pattern of sex roles.

G. Social Heritage

16. As the last item in the description of the flow of students through the educational system we turn to the fact that the choice of education made by the young people is to a high extent determined by the environment from which they come, and in particular the social status of the parents and their educational background.

It has long been recognized that the son follows in the footsteps of his father. The interesting aspect of this is not so much whether the sons of ministers become ministers, the sons of doctors become doctors, and the sons of farmers become farmers, etc. What is important from the point of view of equality is the fact that the educational *level* is repeated from one generation to another: children of university graduates will typically receive a higher or further education, children of artisans will typically receive a vocational training, and children of unskilled people will typically become unskilled.

The residual group is primarily recruited from what was the residual group of previous generations.

This situation still exists to a wide extent in the Danish society of today. It has particularly been studied in surveys undertaken by the Danish National Institute of Social Research, which for the purpose of analysis has developed a model dividing the Danish population into *social strata* which are *termed social groups I to V*.

Social group I is the upper social group consisting of self-employed with large enterprises and executives with more thans 50 subordinates; this group comprises approx. 5 per cent of the population.

Social group V which comprises 23 per cent is the lowest stratum consisting of unskilled workers.

Social group IV comprising 23 per cent of the population consists primarily of skilled workers and salaried workers without any subordinates, and of smallholders.

Social group III is the largest with approx. 39 per cent of the poulation and it comprises such different groups as farmers, self-employed in urban trades with 0 to 5 subordinates who have not got any tertiary education, and salaried workers with 1 to 10 subordinates who have not completed a course of further education.

The survey carried out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research is discussed in Appendix 2 Figures 4.7 and 4.8 have been drawn on the basis of this survey.

As an example may be mentioned the intake to the upper secondary education. Whereas only 5 per cent of all young people come from social group I – the upper group – 17 per cent of all upper secondary school pupils in 1973 came from this social group. More than 50 per cent of the young people who have grown up in homes belonging to social group I will thus start in the upper secondary school.

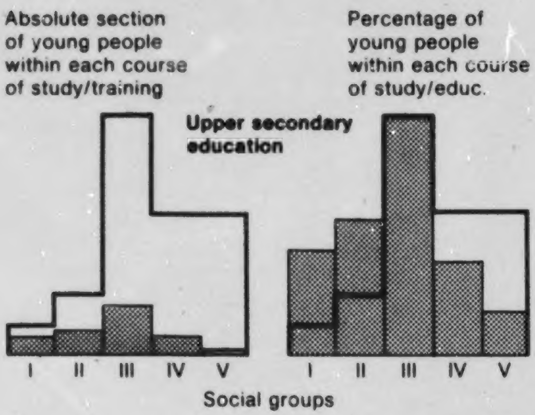
In order to obtain an equilibrium in an average upper secondary class it would be necessary to move 6 pupils belonging to the upper social strata from such a class and replace them with 6 pupils from the lower social strata. In other words, 75 per cent of the pupils in an upper secondary school would be the same as attend it today if there was to be a socially equal distribution of places.

The imbalance of the recruitment for the other courses of youth education will appear from figure 4.8.

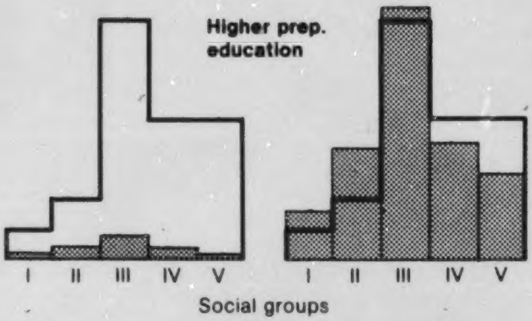
The general trends in society in connection with the growth of the educational system have of course changed the pattern of recruitment and created a possibility of climbing the social ladder. The changed recruitment for the upper secondary education in recorded in figure 49; from this it can be seen that from 1965 to 1973 there have in fact been relatively large shifts.

The process of social registration is of course only possible after the pupils have completed primary and lower secondary education and at the transition to the continued schooling or orther later courses. But it is a widespread belief that the pattern has been partly laid at a very early stage in the child's life. This is of great importance for the deliberations on an educational policy which is to a higher degree striving towards equality.

Figure 4.8. The proportion of the 5 social groups in the courses of continued schooling in 1974. The left-hand bar shows how large a proportion of all young people from each social group receive the education in question. The extra-bold line in the right-hand bar shows the relative distribution of the young people according to social group of their parents compared with the relative distribution of the section of young people participating in the course of education in question. To the left may for instance be seen that almost all pupils from social group I are admitted to upper secondary education, whereas only a very small proportion of pupils from social group V are admitted. The mid-group, social group III, is almost equally represented in all courses. To the right is shown that the upper social groups are over-represented in the upper secondary education, whereas the lower social groups are underrepresented.



all young people distributed according to the social group of the parents
of which in the course in question



all young people distributed according to the social group of the parents
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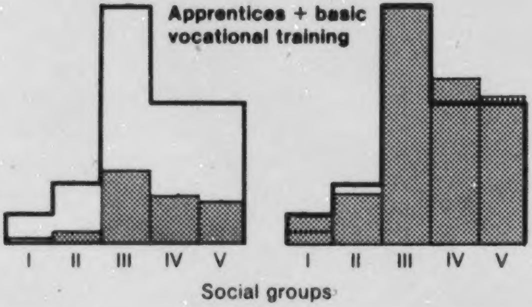

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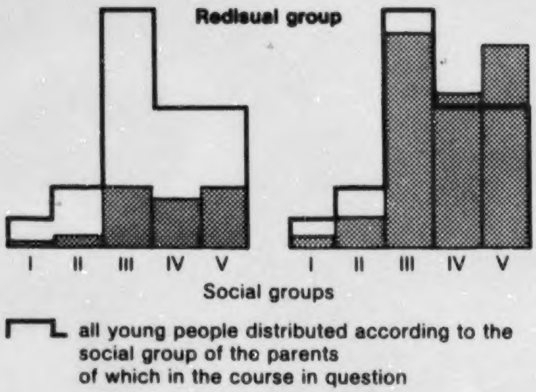


Figure 4.8. Table

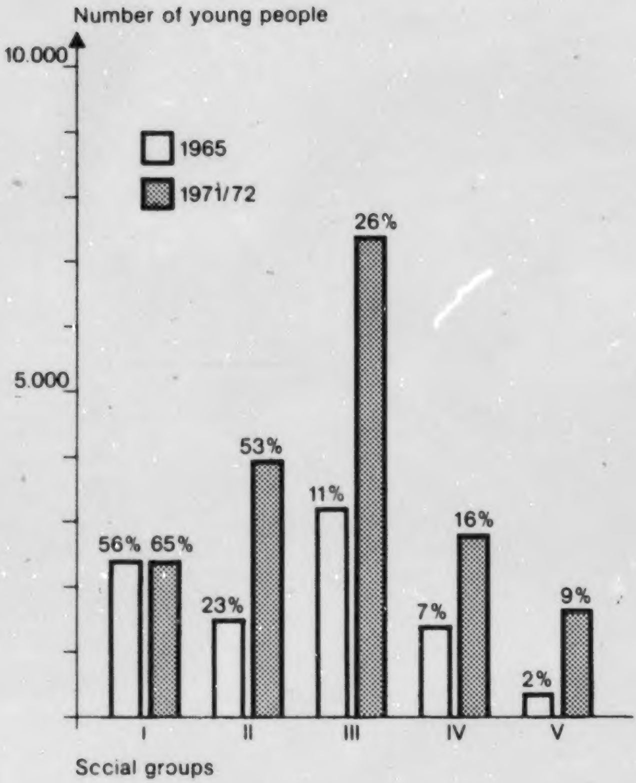
	Absolute share of young people within each course of study						Precentage within each course of study					
Social group:	I	II	III	IV	V	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Upper sec. education	3	4	8	3	1	19	17	22	39	15	7	100
Higher prep. education	1	2	4	2	1	10	8	18	41	19	14	100
Apprenctices and basic voc. training	1	2	12	8	7	30	2	8	39	27	24	100
Residual group	1	2	10	8	10	31	2	5	35	25	33	100

Source: The National Bureau of Statistics and the Danish National Institute of Social Research: General Conditions in Denmark 1976. The absolute share is based on the educational statistics 1974/75 from the Economic-statistical Division of the Ministry of Education, and on an estimated proportion of the total residual group.

Figure 4.9. Upper secondary school pupils by the social group of their parents 1965 and 1971–72. It will be seen that by far the greater part of the growth in the number of places in the upper secondary school is accounted for by pupils from social group III; but social groups II, IV, and V also have more places in the upper

secondary school. The percentage figures indicate how large a part of the social group in question the bar shows.

The figures are computed on the basis of the intake to the upper secondary education and higher preparatory education, and on the article by Erik Jørgen Hansen: Social Recruitment to Higher Preparatory Courses and the Upper Secondary Education in the early 1970s. Bulletin No. 2, the Danish National Institute of Social Research.



Chapter V

The Teachers

1. If the ideas laid down in the new school laws do not leave their mark on the teaching quickly enough, it is the teachers people complain of. And when the children work with study projects or according to methods which the parents and the politicians cannot accept, the teachers will also be chastised.

The efforts and attitudes of the teachers will thus be seen as key factors for the possibility for education to include new subjects and working methods, and for the total political and social orientation of the educational system.

Consequently the total number of teachers, and a breakdown by age and sex, as well as social background, education, and attitudes will be of great interest.

A. Number, Sex, and Age

2. There are approx. 60,000 teachers employed full-time, and a corresponding number of teachers employed part-time of which there are several instances of repetition (cf. table 5.1.). Taking into account that to these figures should be added a fairly large administrative staff, cleaning staff, etc. it may be estimated that close on 5 per cent of the population engaged in active employment are engaged in educational tasks on a full-time or part-time basis.

Table 5.1. The number of teachers 1976–1977 in the largest educational fields.

	Full-time teachers	Part-time teachers	
		Number of teachers	Converted into full-time equiv.
Primary and Lower Secondary School	40,000	17,000	9,900[3])
Upper Secondary School and Higher Prep. Educ.	4,300	1,400	700[3])
Vocational training[1])	3,700	2,700	800[3])
Courses of further ed.	7,000	8,000[2])	1,800[5])
Folk high schools, continuation schools, etc.	2,000[2])	...	500[2])
Leisure-time ed.	200[2])	30,000[2])	1,500[2])
Total	57,200	59,100[4])	15,200

[1]) Comprises teachers at technical schools and commercial schools only.

[2]) Estimate.

[3]) When converting the figures for part-time teachers into full-time posts the respective categories of teachers have been used.

[4]) Excluding teachers at folk high schools, continuation schools, etc.

[5]) Calculated on basis of information about the entire number of teaching hours for part-time engaged teachers.

Source: Information from the Economic-statistical Division of the Ministry of Education.

The number of teachers in the primary and lower secondary school has grown very steeply since the turn of the century (cfr. Table 5.2).

The number of part-time teachers in the primary and lower secondary school comprises teachers with a reduced number of lessons, but not teachers using the reduction of the number of lessons for teaching in other types of schools, for further education, etc.

The number of teachers within leisure-time education comprises teachers from other types of schools with reduced duty hours in the principal occupation and person employed outside the school and person having leisure-time education as a side-line. The number of teachers with leisure-time education as their principal occupation is thus comparatively limited.

Whereas the student population has increased by just under 100 per cent, the number of teachers have almost quadrupled The teachers/pupil ratio has thus been halved in 50 years, but this does not mean that there are half as many pupils in each class. The shift indicated by the figures is to some extent a result of the reduction in the teacher's obligation to teach a certain number of lessons per week within ordinary working hours, as well as the general reduction of working hours. But first and foremost it is a result of the extension of the school hours for the pupils: Well into this century teaching only every second day was normal in the rural districts.

Table 5.2. The number of pupils and teachers in the Primary and Lower Secondary School and the private schools in some selected years in the period between 1916–17 and 1976–77[1]).

Year	Number of teachers	Number of pupils
1916–17	14,700	461,000
1926–27	16,000	487,000
1936–37	17,200	486,000
1946–47	18,500	481,000
1956–57	24,400	664,000
1965–66	36,500	674,000
1976–77	56,700[1])	805,000

[1]) Excluding directors of education, deputy directors of education, and inspectors of schools.

The figures for the period 1916–56 also comprise pupils and teachers in the upper secondary schools, as upper secondary schools have or have comprised primary and lower secondary sections; consequently it is difficult to separate upper secondary pupils and upper secondary teachers.

Source: The National Bureau of Statistics: Statistical Year-Book, and for 1966–67 and 1976–77 informations from The Economic-Statistical Division of the Ministry of Education.

Even though there has in fact been a reduction of the number of pupils in a class – particularly in the top forms – extra teachers are to a wide extent used for remedial instruction, in connection with teaching for smaller groups in the top forms, and for library assistance for the pupils, guidance for the individual pupil, and other purposes. By way of example may be mentioned that in 1976–77 153,000 weekly hours were used for remedial instruction in primary and lower secondary schools outside Copenhagen, compared with 89,000 in 1970–71.

Sex

3. 56 per cent of the teachers in the primary and lower secondary schools are now women, which is more than before. But as women to a higher extent than men want part-time employment, the typical situation will be that the pupil meet an equal number of men and women his or her teachers..

The proportion of women of the total number of upper secondary school teachers is in the ascendant, but it is only now that were are beginning to see an equal representation of both sexes. (In 1966–

67 there were 29 per cent women, and in 1976–77 35 per cent).

Only 16 per cent of the teachers in vocational schools are women.

Age

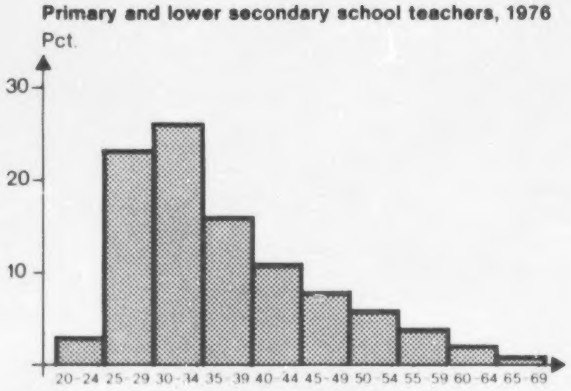
4. A breakdown by age shows a distinct bulge in the age group 30-39 years, cf. figure 5.3.

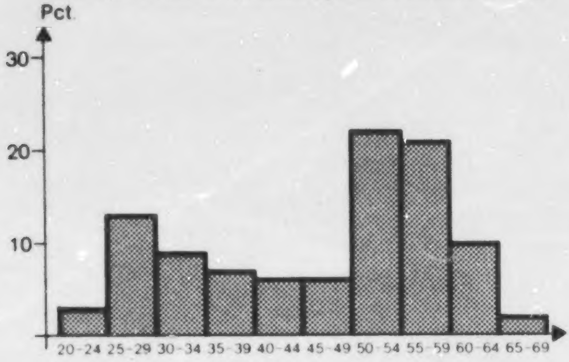
Thus we may say that the teacher group in Denmark is decidedly a group of young teachers. The disparity of distribution on age groups is first and foremost due to the great expansion of the student population and the total number of teachers since the 1960s within all sectors of the educational system. If special efforts are not made to alter this situation, there will be an excessive number of teachers at the turn of the century in the age bracket 50–59 years.

The disparity of the distribution on age groups is even more pronounced in further education, and it creates special problems in that field because a large number of teachers have an obligation to carry on research, and it is the general opinion that especially the young researchers may bring new aspects into research. A solution to this problem has been discussed, for instance at the Technical University of Denmark, according to wich a number of teachers should transfer to the business sector. The problem is however a major one, as the disparity of distribution on age groups is not only a problem for the educational sector alone, but it is also a general problem for the public service sector, which expanded explosively in the 1960s.

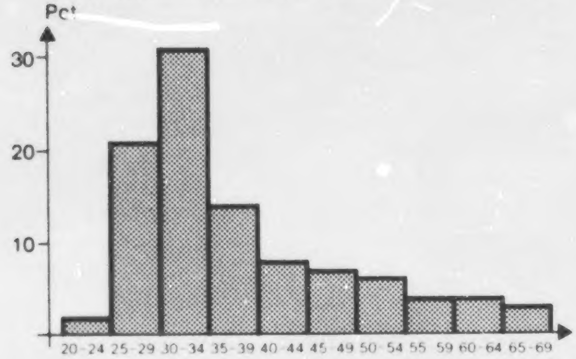
Figure 5.3.

A distribution of age amoung the primary and lower secondary teachers and the upper secondary teachers 1976 and a prognosis on the assumption that the number of teachers does not change.

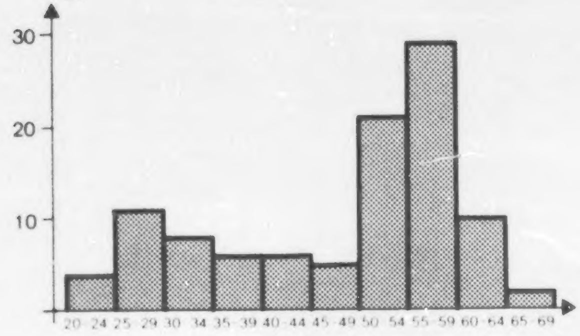




Primary and lower secondary school teachers, 2000



Upper secondary school teachers, 1976



Upper secondary school teachers, 2000

A bulge of 50-60-year-old teachers will be the result if some kind of intervention is not made. The death rate and some disparity by age in case of recruitment and retirement are included in the figures.

B. Social Background

5. It is the general impression that teachers come from urban middle classes together with a relatively large number of sons and daughters of farmers, whereas the working class is not so strongly represented. There are no surveys which can confirm or invalidate this impression. A survey of the social background of one year group of teacher training college students indicates that *the upper social groups are over-represented* and *the lower social groups are underrepresented*. On the other hand, the middle groups do not seem to be overrepresented, cf. figure 5.4. It is however a characteristic feature of the group of primary and lower secondary school teachers that the social recruitment is far broader than is the case for other courses of further education.

Thus there is a large over-representation of the upper social groups in the case of the upper secondary school teachers.

The training of primary and lower secondary school teachers has always constituted an opportunity for climbing the social ladder. There are no surveys available indicating whether a similar situation applies to the upper secondary school teachers, but the typical recruitment of such teachers does not seem to indicate that it is of any significant importance.

It is to a higher extent men than women from the lower social groups that cross the barrier and become teachers, whereas women from the upper social strata become teachers more often than men.

Figure 5.4. Breakdown by social groups – teacher training college students 1969 and 1975. Children of working-class families (social group V) are far better represented at the teacher training colleges now, but there is still an imbalance.

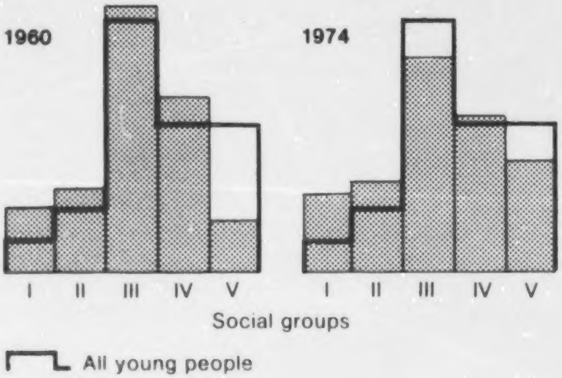


Table 5.4. Teachers training College students distributed per cent on social groups.

Social group students	I	II	III	IV	V
1960–64	10	13	41	27	8
1974	12	14	33	24	17

Source: Skyum Nielsen and Magnussen: »School as society« 1964.

Source: The National Council of Training College Students: 'Report on a Social Survey', 1974.

C. Education

6. Primary and lower secondary school teachers and upper secondary school teachers constitute in themselves *fairly uniform groups in terms of education,* whereas there is a sharp division between the 2 groups. In 1976–77 92 per cent of the primary and lower secondary school teachers were trained at a teacher training college, while 90 per cent of the upper secondary school teachers and teachers at higher preparatory courses had completed a course of education at the faculty of arts or the faculty of science and mathematics at the universities.

Among the teachers at private schools with forms 1 through 10 only 56 per cent had been trained at a teacher training college. This difference can be traced back to the private independant schools of Grundtvig and Kold in the last century whose teachers were often opposed to the teachers educated at a teacher training college working in the municipal schools. A large number of the teachers at private independant schools and private schools hold a special diploma for teaching one or more subjects (faglærereksamen), or have been educated at the 4 special teacher training schools of which there is only one left.

In the upper secondary school and at higher preparatory courses there are a number of engineers and clergymen etc. who were employed in the 1960s when there was an extreme shortage of teachers.

The majority of teachers at the technical schools and the commercial schools have completed a vocational training supplemented with pedagogical training under State training scheme for vocational teachers. Some of them teach part-time and have another job at the same time. The specialized background is much more varied than in the case of the teachers in the primary and lower secondary school and the teacher training colleges.

The same pattern is found within the sector of further education where the teachers are skilled specialists. A course of supplementary pedagogical training is in the prosess of being set up, but only a very small percentage of the teachers have received such training. At most courses within the sector of further education the work of the teachers involves an obligation to carry on research, and this aspect has so far been decisive when new posts are to be filled.

D. Attitudes of the Teachers

By way of conclusion we would like to discuss the central problem of the importance of the attitudes of the teachers to the educational system.

The teachers face a number of conflicts every day between their ideals and aims, and the reality presented by the school situation.

There is an increasing professionalization of the teaching profession. Previously it was important to know more than the pupils and to pass on this knowledge; today the job is to an increasing extent simply to teach. This trend is perhaps less pronounced in the case of the courses of further education.

Another aspect is the change of attitude which is in progress: the job as a teacher is no longer considered to be vocation but as a job like any other. Even though very few teachers will agree that they consider their job to be a vocation, many conflicts arise between the obligation they feel they have towards the rising generation, and the rights they feel they have as employees. The obligation towards the pupils will of course be stronger for the teachers than the obligation is for employees in business enterprises towards the production.

The relations between the teacher and the parents often presents a special problem in the primary and lower secondary school. The school and the teachers are often ahead of the general tendencies in society, and it may be a problem for the teachers to make the parents understand the education which society offers their children is the one the children will benefit best from. The parents' ideas about the school are often closely linked up with the memories they have of the time when they attended school, and expressions of opinions by the parents are often seen by the teachers as if the parents are barking up the wrong tree, and as criticism on an incorrect basis.

Traditionally the teachers have been free to choose their own methods of teaching. The influence of parents, the participation of pupils in the planning, new methods of work, openness towards the surrounding community, etc. have resulted in limitations to this freedom of choice. If new educational demands on the teacher are not followed up by corresponding changes in the daily work of the school and the working conditions of the teachers, they will not lead to the intended positive result.

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Chapter VI

Recent Educational Currents

1. As a result of the growth in the size and importance of the educational system, the educational methods have been the subject of increased interest. This has meant more research and development, and several experiments have been started.

The development over the last 10 to 15 years are therefore often seen as a period when 'recent educational currents' have manifested themselves decisively. If we consider these currents more closely we will find that not all of the currents called 'recent' deserve this name. By far the greater part of them have been described in educational literature long ago; some of them have even been known for centuries. What has happened over the last few years is that they have acquired an additional interest and increased power of penetration.

A number of factors have contributed to this, one of them being that a higher number of persons start on an education.

At the same time it has been vigorously advocated that there should be a more intimate interaction between education and society, and this in its turn fosters the interest for analyzing what is taking place the educational situation.

Thirdly trends in society have created an increasing demand for such abilities as the ability to co-operate, broader specialized qualifications, independence and creativity, and adaptability.

A fourth factor has been the wish to employ the heavily increased time which education takes up of the lives of young people in a more productive way. This has on the one hand led to rationalization efforts in the shape of guidelines to a specific subject, increased efforts in the field of educational materials, and special courses for teachers and on the other hand to endeavours to create a climate designed to promote the well-being of teachers and pupils – two aspects which do not exclude each other.

Finally it has been vigorously advocated that the pupils should be more motivated in the educational situation.

In the following part of the chapter is given a description of some of the more marked trends.

A. Problem Orientation

2. The increased application of problem-oriented teaching must probably be considered to be the most central trend. The aim is to replace mere rote learning by teaching where the pupils themselves experience knowledge as a means of solving the problems which constitute the point of departure for the teaching. If a problem-oriented teaching is to give suffient qualifications, the problems must be chosen in such a way that they give knowledge and insight into the methods and theories of the subject, and at the same time they should serve as characteristic examples of large problem complexes. This will create an opportunity for learning which is based more on understanding, and which also provides skills for practical application, as well as improved flexibility and creativity.

B. Project Work

3. In problem-oriented work it is attempted to choose problems within the

framework of a project aimed at illustrating a concrete subject. This will normally require the application of methods and knowledge from several subjects. In this respect Student participation may contribute towards creating an increased interest for the work.

Project work has particularly become very popular within the sector of further education, especially at the university centres at Roskilde and Aalborg, where project work is also the official basic method of work. Project work is also used within other field of education, first and foremost at the folk high schools, and in adult education.

C. Student Participation

4. The increasing tendency towards is closely connected with the tendency towards problem orientation. The problems which teaching is to be based on must motivate the participation. Consequently it is natural that the students participate in the choice of problems and the planning of the teaching sequence. However, the teacher still plays an important part. It is one of the tasks of the teacher through his breadth of view to ensure that the above-mentioned requirements are met: not least that the problems give experience and insight into central sections of the methods and theories of the subjects.

The influence of the participants on the educational situation will furthermore provide a basis for practical training in independence and -co-operation.

D. Group Work

5. Group work and the increased student participation are closely linked up with each other.

The understanding and insight which the students obtain is often greater when they can discuss their problems with others in groups than when they work on their own or in a class, where it is far more difficult to get a discussion going. If group works is made the prevailing method of work, it may, however, become a straitjacket obstructing the work of some of the students, and make their course of study dependent on the preferences of other students.

In order to function properly the group work must form part of an interaction between ordinary class instruction and individualized teaching. This presupposes that the examinations and assessments are also prepared with the group as the basis.

E. New Ways of Assessment

6. A number of new types of assessment have turned out to be a useful supplement to – or a substitute for – the traditional marks and examinations.

Basically more importance has been attached to making the assessment a guideline for the teaching. It is intended to assist the individual pupil to understand his own situation and thus help him to remedy any deficiences. The assessment is furthermore intended to be an aid to the teacher so that he may prepare the future work in collaboration with the students. This use of formative assessment is often opposed to the external application of the assessments, where marks are used as criteria for admission or appointment.

Secondly endeavours are being made to make the situations in which the pupils are assessed as realistic as possible. This may for instance result in stressing the application of knowledge more than showing one's 'ready knowledge'. Books and other aids are to an increasing extent allowed at examinations. Group examinations – where achievements in the groups replace the achievement of the individual partly or in full – constiute another element in the endeavours to find out how the pupil reacts in realistic situations.

F. Extra-curricular Activities

7. Many attempts have been made to open the class-room and have the pupils of a class make contacts with other pupils of the same age as well as with younger or older pupils, or to have them make contacts with the community outside the school.

The class still constitutes the basis for such extra-curricular activities, where the necessary background is created through special project weeks, excursions, special topic days, weekend stays, schemes comprising practical and aesthetical subjects, etc., where there is co-operation across the traditional class patterns or outside the school; such activities have become increasingly popular, not least in the primary and lower secondary schools.

This makes new demands on the design of the school buildings with greater importance attached to creating a framework for groups of varying sizes outside the traditional class-rooms. In a few schools the class-rooms open on to the common rooms.

G. Basic Training

8. The concept of basic training was introducing at the end of the 1960.

The aim was to get a more broadly based background in the introductory stages of a course of study, thus postponing the final choice of occupation. This would also offer greater flexibility in the case of transition from one course of study to another or when changing occupation, and it would improve the possibilities of the participants for assessing their own abilities within various courses of education. Basic training has become very popular within the basic vocational training scheme and some courses of further education.

Within further education – especially at the Roskilde University Centre (RUC) – basic training is linked up with problem orientation, group work, and student participation and an assessment of basic training may consequently tend to add up to an assessment of how these principles work in an interaction. The criticism has especially been concentrated on the fact that the projects within basic training are prepared on the basis of insufficient background knowledge, one of the reasons being inadequate learning of specialized subject matter.

H. Modular Structure

9. The concept of a course of study with a modular structure was introduced at the same time as the model of basic training in the latter part of the 1960s. Originally the principle was described as 'standard packages', 'standard units', etc. and the intention was to divide a course of education into well-defined units with well-defined initral and final levels and there was often a fixed methodology. At the beginning the intention was to make it easier to transfer from one course of study to another, but later on increasing importance was attached to breaking down the existing rigid course structures and creating opportunities for increased freedom of choice. This might increase the motivation for following an education, as the student had the possibility of opting out of modules in which he did not have an interest, or for which he did not have sufficient abilities.

The modular structure is to an increasing extent being criticized for contributing to more swotting, reducing the aspects of experimentation, and resulting in alienation and isolation of the individual student, who in this type of system will find it difficult to link up with a group. The whole concept of co-operation across the subject patterns is difficult to fit into a modular structure.

I. Rational Planning of Teaching

10. In a number of educational fields the was an interest in the 1960s – partly

influenced by foreign authors – for rendering the teaching more efficient through a carefully prepared description of aims and objectives of the teaching.

The description of aims was introduced at a number of courses and for a number of subjects. Gradually a fairly fixed methodology was developed; in this a description of the background of the participants and the 'terminal behaviour' were of importance. The tendency to have a far too fixed description of aims has been criticized from several quarters. One aspect which is particularly subject to criticism is the fact that the detailed descriptions of aims make the teaching far too rigid until new descriptions of aims are prepared as a result of a development outside the educational system. Another factor which is criticized is the circumstance that too much attention is paid to the aims and too little to the teaching sequence.

At the technical schools there were, well into the 1960s, many teachers with a short pedagogical training. Here the ideas about descriptions of aims and job analyses resulted in the development of systematically prepared detailed curricula for the teaching, often giving a detailed description of each lesson.

J. Audio-Visual Aids

11. The interest for making the teaching more efficient manifested itself in the 1960s in a wide range of experiments with new technical aids, starting with comparatively simple devices such as flip-overs, overhead-projectors, and tape-recorders, but these experiments were soon followed up by experiments with closed-circuit television, language labs, and programmed teaching, often with the application of computers.

A number of aims were pursued with these aids and this technique. One of them was the desire to have possibilities of adjusting the tempo in the teaching to the individual pupil, another the desire to reduce the costs of teaching by having these aids take over the tasks of the teachers.

However, it soon turned out that the preparation of such teaching material for the new aids was very resource-consuming, and the advantages must therefore be considered to be the fact that these aids offer new opportunities, and teaching is rendered more efficient.

By way of summary it may be mentioned that a number of teaching methods which – although they were already known from educational literature – were not put into extensive service until the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, were of particular importance in that they provided impulses for innovation and debate.

It is thus clear that they have resulted in a reorganization of teacher training and created increased interest for inservice training and further training of teachers.

The experiments and results with other teaching methods carried out in the 1960s and 1970s constitute one of the points of departure for the reforms discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter VII

The Ideas of Our Future Society

1. In principle education is for the future. The educational planning for the next 15 years must form the basis of the life of the young and grownups a long way into the next century. The educational system, for which U-90 gives the principal guide lines, must thus be seen in the light of the concept we can form of our future society in a very long perspective.

In principle the future is a closed book, and there are numerous examples that prophecies and predictions did not come true. Many trends may, however, with a reasonably high degree of probability be projected into the future, but so many unexpected and unforeseeable events take place that visions of the future must be used with the greatest care.

If we are aware of the uncertainties, it may, nevertheless, be very useful in the planning process today to try, more systematically, to form ideas of the consequences of present trends, of decisions and plans, and of wishes and hopes. This may also contribute to preventing undesireable courses of events.

2. In order to have some basis for visualizing our future society, the CCE, in the autumn of 1976, asked a number of people with different professional and political background, but with common interest in the social development, to participate in a discussion on this subject. In June 1977 this debating group gave an account to the CCE, which has been reprinted as appendix 5. In the course of the discussion in the CCE, some other observations were made, which have formed the basis of the following considerations of possible trends and problems in the future Danish society. We have not regarded it as our task to try to give a total picture of a potential future society, but to draw attention to such features as we think are of *special importance in relation to the educational policy*.

A. The Role of Education in Development

3. First of all we must emphasize that the Danish society of the future must be *based on education* to such an extent as has never been seen before.

Even if the present educational efforts and structure were frozen, which, however, we find unrealistic, in spite of much talk about retrenchments, the educational status of the Danish population will be essentially changed and extended in the course of the next 20–30 years. This has already been discussed in the introductory chapters and can therefore be summed up here by saying, that the present and coming generations in the 15–25-year-age group will get much more education in comparison with the education that the 35–65-year-age group got when they were young, so some reaction in the social development cannot be avoided.

But we certainly do not think that the structure of education should be frozen, and we do not think that this is what the population wants. This applies to the total frame of resources as well as the structure and content of education. There are still great inequalities as regards the distribution of education in the population, and it is important to reduce these inequalities. This is the main theme of the following chapters. By way of introduction we shall therefore only point out that when considering trends and possibilities of the future Danish society, we dare presuppose that the population will be in a better position than they are now as far as education is concerned. This may open possibilities which do not exist today.

4. Education is a principal factor of and may give an impulse to the development of our society. Education is a prerequesite of technology, production, politics, culture, etc. But education is never just education in general, it is always concrete, i.e. it has a definite social, technological, cultural, and political content. It is therefore not just done by increasing educational efforts. Or in other words: not every kind of additional education will result in the progress we deem desirable.

From a planning point of view it will therefore be necessary to concretize our desire for a future society and also to survey the other factors which educational planning must take into consideration if it is to be realistic. These factors may be our international dependance, our limited economic resources, the unjust distribution of wealth, the structure of power, and other kinds of inherent inertia in society, as e.g. the economic structure.

B. Principal Features in the Initial Situation

5. 3 very conspicuous features have been characteristic of the last 25 years of development:

- *Firstly:* The *violently dynamic development* involving continuous innovations and radical structural changes in production, patterns of consumption, social standards, and cultural life, etc. No important aspect of life has remained unaffected.
- *Secondly:* The enormous *increase in production* and consequently in consumption of material goods and services. This again lead to rapidly increasing use of *energy and natural resources.* Nobody will deny that *this economic growth* is a decisive factor in our lives, but there are different opinions of its impact on our welfare and the qualities of life in its widest sense.
- *Thirdly:* In spite of economic upswing we have not succeeded in suppressing economic, social, and political inequalities and differences neither in the individual society nor in the world as a whole. *The main part of the population of the earth is still living on the starvation line,* and insecurity and fear of the future are still dominant.

6. The Danes live in a priviledged part of the world where the materiel standard of living is sky-high compared with the standard of the majority of people, and inequalities are smaller and there is less insecurity than in most other places. Nevertheless, we have our internal conflicts – and above all we cannot shake off the repercussions of all that happens in the world around us.

Development in Denmark is in almost all crucial respects influenced by strong forces from outside. For a number of years there have been trends towards breaking down previous national barriers. The increased dependence on international economic trade conditions is just one aspect of this development. Frontiers are open to ideological and cultural currents, to new ways of thinking, and new knowledge as never before.

We do not think, however, that development in Denmark is so completely tied to what happens outside the country that we should not have the chance of framing an independant Danish policy. Especially a small country, which need pay only limited attention to power policy, may have scope to settle a number of domestic affairs according to their own wishes. This applies to political systems and the social balance – and not least the educational policy.

7. But on which general prerequisites can we base our planning?

It seems obvious that we cannot take into account the completely unpredictable factors, the wurst possible situation such as violent catastrophes or another world war. These are risks which we have to live with, but which cannot, at any rate, affect the educational planning.

The question of how we are to estimate and perhaps allow for the risk of a number of other negative possibilities is more difficult.

It seems to be a conspicuous weakness of almost all forecasts and long-term projects that they are very much influenced by the present situation and the experience made in the immediately preceeding years. Thus in the 60's all long-term forecasts were optimistic as regards growth, today beliefs in continued depression, mass unemployment, scarcety of energy and natural resources, etc. are dominant.

If we go 25 years back in time we find that then very few had the imagination to visualize the technological advances and economic upswing of the 60's. Nobody today would dare believe that the change of the century will see a repetition of the production increase of the 60's. But in principle this does not make it more likely that the crises we have experienced over the past 3 years will become a permanent state of affairs.

8. In the CCE opinions differ – and it would be strange if this was not the case. The majority of the members, however, find it reasonable to plan long-term reforms on the assumption that in the long run the *increase in production will continue. However, for several reasons we believe that it will be at slower rate than in the 60's.* At the same time it is difficult to imagine that development will be characterized by the same stability as in the 60's. We will see ups and downs in economy of a duration of 3,5, or even more years, and also politically we may face periods of harsher climate, of confrontations, and less tolerance, and of enchroachments on the liberty of individuals and population groups.

This will result in a demand for flexibility in future planning, which must allow for modifications in step with shifts in development. In educational policy it is especially necessary to ensure that education does not intensify conceptions that problems can only be solved in one way, and that the existing state of society is the only possible one. The ability to make decisions of one's own and to adjust oneself to modified external conditions will be very important for individuals and for decision-makers at all levels.

9. In the following we shall try to survey the long-term trends and mechanisms which influence the various fields, especially those which are deemed to be of importance to the framing of an educational policy.

The account starts with the economic conditions and problems and then we discuss other aspects of the development of society after which we take up the problems of political direction. As we go along we shall sum up some of the demands that the development must be expected to make on educational policy.

C. Economic Conditions

10. Several features of the development indicate that such an exceptional economic upswing as that of the 60's will not recur in the 80's and the 90's. Even considerably lower rates of economic growth in Western Europe do not mean, however, that the economic development will come to a standstill. In particular it does not follow that it will become impossible to arrange conditions of life in

such a way as people will consider more satisfactory. By lower rates of economic growth we are especially referring to the concrete possibility that the increase in the material standard of living of the European, and specially the Danish, average citizen will decelerate and maybe periodically come to a stop; but this does not necessarily prevent improvements of services and other qualities of life that demand less raw material than the many consumer durables that have for the last 20 years dominated the growth of production.

The cooling of the economic climate in this country and in a number of other Western industrialised countries may however intensify social contrasts, and it wil make heavier demands on the overall political direction of the economy.

11. The assumption of a lower rate of economic growth in Denmark can be based on the circumstance that in several respects there seems to have been or may be expected shifts in the conditions that have determined the development of the last few years. The most important ones are discussed briefly below.

The high and rapidly increasing material standard of living of Western Europe has so far to a great extent been based on the combination of a technological headstart, an extensive accumulation of capital, and the consequent positions of military and political power, including the alliance with the USA.

In each of these respects the development has of late years been unfavourable to Western Europe Thus especially Japan and the Eastern bloc countries have gained very much on Western Europe as regards technological and industrial development, and the developing countries have become an increasingly important factor, not least politically. Besides, since 1973 the oil producing countries have established themselves as new economic and political factors of power.

True enough, some European countries – especially Britain and Norway – will strengthen their economies in the next 20-30 years, but the overall impression is that the situation in Western Europe is characterised by increased scarcity of natural resources and thus also increased dependence on supplies from countries that to an increasing extent are capable of safeguarding their own interest. A weakening of Western Europe's price and currency relations is therefore likely. This will especially affect countries wich, like Denmark, are dependent on supplies from abroad of practically all kinds of raw materials and energy sources.

The high level of education and increasingly bigger research and development efforts have resulted in a *heavy increase in efficiency and a high rate of innovation* in all the Western countries. It is characteristic of all these countries that there has in the last few years been a heavy deceleration of the growth of research and development resources. It is uncertain whether this will lead to a lower rate of innovation and a slowdown of the increase in productivity. Very little is known about these relations, and it seems natural to point to the fact that the research efforts are still very great, in non-military fields greater than ever. Moreover the number of highly educated people continues to rise in all industrial countries. There should thus be a considerable potential for new knowledge, new ideas, and technological innovations.

Two quite different factors will, however, in all probability to an increasing extent check the development.

One is the growing *difficulties of meeting the increased demand for investment capital.* More and more capital is required to meet the steadily increasing demand for energy and raw materials, and the capital requirements of industry were in the 60's increasingly financed by means of loans. At the same time the industrialisation of the development countries make new demands on the international capital markets. It is true that the crisis of the last few years has temporarily lowered the rate of investment in a number of industries (and thus contributed further to unemployment), but this is a typical cyclical phenomenon – though it is important to add that big European industries have presumably lost ground forever to industries in other parts of the world, especially Japan.

The other factor that may check the development is the growing dissatisfaction and the more critical attitude of substantial parts of the population towards the present technological development. Opposition to pollution and destruction of environment, opposition to nuclear poweer stations, chemical industries and motorways, etc. is one aspect hereof, the other is a widespread doubt about the value of an ever increasing material standard of living, which for many people is based on stressful work and strained family situations.

Sooner or later it will be necessary, especially for Denmark, to reduce the deficit on the balance of payments. This will presumably be tantamount to further slowdown of the rise in the standard of living – for some time perhaps a direct decline in the average standard of living of the Danish population. But this does not necessarily mean a decline in employment, which among the other things will depend on the relative strength in the economic as well as the political systems.

12. In all circumstances, an economic development as the one just outlined may lead to an aggravation of the problems concerning distribution of wealth and the power structure in the trades and industries. Some enterprises will get into trouble and either go bankrupt or be taken over by their competitors. The economic strain will necessitate rationalization and new methods of production. Capital saving, raw material saving, and energy saving rationalizations can in this situation carry relatively bigger weight compared with the labour saving rationalizations, but we cannot expect economic interest in labour saving efforts to disappear. The workers will be interested in rationalizations that may remove tedious and stressful work and change the production processes, which are injurious to the workers' health. Demand for better working conditions is increasing, among other things based on better knowledge and greater environmental consciousness. We are convinced that if the plans for economic democracy are carried through in one way or another, this will have a decisive influence on production and the working conditions. Economic democracy may be the most important factor for development on the labour market up to the 90's.

D. Natural Resources and Environment

13. The radical modifications and innovations on the 50's and especially the 60's were accompanied by a population explosion in the world as a whole and an enourmous increase in demand for natural resources. We are referring both to agricultural areas, water and the like, and to the energy and raw material resources. The increasing investments in often very big technological plants to raise the supply of energy and raw materials was one of the very characteristic features of the heavy economic growth.

In several of the big developing countries there are clear indications that the endeavours to limit population growth have begun to show results and will manifest themselves to an even greater extent. This may facilitate the solution of some of the basic supply problems, not least as far as food is concerned, but in all circumstances the population of the world will still be increasing in the year 2000.

The scarcety of natural resources will continue to give great problems for the reason among others that the inevitable increase in the standard of living in the developing countries will necessitate an enourmous increase in production. This is already going on, but it will be a long time before results of real importance are obtained. It can only be carried through by means of heavy industrialization based on improved technology – but it does not have to be a slavish imitation of the pattern followed by Western Europe, USA and Japan. On the contrary, it will be of vital importance to find new paths.

14. The heavy increase in the use of natural resources have at the same time created *big and growing environmental and pollution problems*. This aspect of economic development attracted increasing public interest in the 60's, and to many it confirmed the conviction that we ought to check, perhaps even stop the economic growth. The oil crisis especially has given rise to self-examination and critical considerations of the uncontrolled technological development and also of the role played by the now large group of technocrats as regards the direction of development in many fields.

Here we see some fundamental problems which are common to the industrialized and the developing countries, although their concrete character varies considerably from country to country. However, the risk is not so much that the scarce natural resources will be 'used up' and sources of energy dry up – opinions differ on that point – as that there are some major problems of adaption and adjustment, which, under certain circumstances, may provoke serious crises.

One of the changes which will be a consequence of the increased demand for natural resources is that energy and many vital raw materials will be relatively more expensive. This may in itself be an incentive to try to limit the growth rate of the consumption of these resources, but the self-adjusting tendency of the price mechanism must undoubtedly be supplemented by more determined planning and direction in a number of fields. Particularly because shifts in prices do not occur gradually, but often in sudden spurts, which may create great adaptation difficulties.

To Denmark, which has to import almost all her raw materials and the main part of her energy supply, the increase in prices of raw materials and energy means that our possibilities of increasing our standard of living will diminish.

15. We believe that in the future it will prove more and more expedient to concentrate our technological innovations on a reduction of the consumption of energy and raw materials in a given production and maybe also the use of capital. This means a shift of growth compared with previously, when we tried hard, through investment, to increase productivitity and thus save labour.

More efficient use of energy is one way of limiting the consumption of natural resources, another is a reduction in the waste of materials. Recycling of industrial products and reprocessing of waste products are other examples. Such methods may at the same time create new jobs and reduce foreign exchange spending. Our present industrial culture has often been described as a 'throw-away-culture', where interest in the durability of things, maintenance and repairs has receded into the background. This was in keeping with the interest of the producers in increased sales, supported by advertisement and sales promotion and sometimes by slogans like 'wear' something new. Economically this fitted well into the whole structure of relatively expensive manpower and labour-saving massproducing industrial plants.

A new attitude which stresses the importance of prolonging the life of things and of trying to reprocess worn-out articles in some way may form an important part of the endeavours to reconcile increasing standard of living with a reduced consumption of energy and raw materials.

16. We are convinced that very strong forces are exerting pressure to step up the material standard of living. The inequalities of the standards of living are so big that they cannot be accepted, but efforts to create a higher degree of equality – in the individual countries as well as among the countries – are meeting with resistance. There would be less resistance during a general increase in the standard of living. To this must be added that the desire for increased welfare and quality of life – not least personal and social security, better working conditions, healthier housing facilities, etc. – may be fulfilled more easily when the material basis has been secured.

Consequently the great problem of the future is not that the technological development will in itself make it more and more difficult to create jobs for everyone. The difficulties rather stem from the fact that jobs can only be created if an extensive structural adaptation is carried through, in trade and industry and in the rest of society. These adaptations do not all take place automatically even in a market economy based on a system of private enterprise.

E. Working Conditions

17. In the last few years more and more attention has been given – not only to pollution problems and the surrounding environment on the whole – nature and housing conditions – but also to the conditions at the place of work, where the adult population spend so much time of their lives.

The is no basis for a general evaluation of whether conditions have improved or have grown worse. One of the reasons is that many different trends pull in opposite directions.

Some types of strenuous work have disappeared, partly thanks to machines, etc., but new occupational risks and threats to the workers' health have emerged, e.g. in connection with the use of many kinds of poisenous metals and new substances from the chemical industry. Ignorance of the dangerous consequences has in many cases affected the development, but to this should be added lack of financial inducement for business to reduce these risks.

A general evaluation of the development of the working conditions is also rendered difficult by the fact that the discussion on problems in connection with working conditions has especially centered on certain sections of the labour market. The working conditions in the production processes of private enterprises are e.g. the current subject of discussion, whereas it is hardly admitted that there are problems in connection with the working conditions within public administration and education.

The normal working hours have been reduced, but the rate of speed in working, the demands for productivity, efficiency, accuracy and conscientiousness have been increased at the same time, and much work has become more stressful.

Among the general structural shifts must be mentioned the heavy reduction of the number of self-employed persons, who run small enterprises, especially within agriculture, handicraft and distribution. To a large extent these are jobs of a much freer and much more versatile nature than those of the wage earners. The development is definitely towards a reduction of that type of jobs.

The working conditions in the very big enterprises, whose number goes up at the expense of the small firms, are considered especially strenuous and inhuman. A better understanding of these problems seems on its way, and efforts are being made to break up big enterprises and institutions into smaller units and replace or vary tedious routine work by more meaningful and versatile work in smaller units.

18. Demand for better working conditions with less stressful work and fewer risks of accidents and occupational deseases or weakened health will be expressed with ever increasing strength, not necessarily because the places of work are getting fewer, but because the continued innovations and structural changes create insecurity and new risks, and because more people than before – thanks to education – have a better understanding and consciousness of this side of the working conditions.

A consequence of these demands will be that enterprises must concentrate more on improving working conditions, which may result in bigger costs. Another effect may be that certain production processes and thus certain types of jobs must disappear. This seems to be the price for creating more human working conditions.

F. Towns, Housing, and Children

19. The ever increasing concentration of population in the towns is one of the characteristic results of industrialization. The way in which urban areas have developed over the years of the last couple of generations, is one of the evident examples of a development of things without the necessary political control, and without having asked the citizens what they wanted. Strong financial interests have played a role especially in this connection.

The economic upswing of the last 20 years have resulted in a much better housing standard for a great part of the population, but even in the newly planned residential districts children's needs have not been taken into specialconsideration. In old housing areas growing traffic, air pollution and noise make conditions worse, and the slum clearance policy has only had very modest results so far. At the last housing census in 1970 there were more than 200,000 dwellings without their own w.c. and one fourth of the population did not have a dwelling with both central heating, and bath and w.c.

Our towns and houses are not made for children. There are only few places where children can play, and town children are not only isolated from nature, but also from production and the world of their parents.

20. It must be taken for granted that, in the course of the next 15-20 years, we shall see a considerable decline in new housing development. The low birth rate is one decisive cause, another is the lower rate of economic growth scarcty of capital a third, and energy problems a fourth. The desire to improve the housing conditions and to create facilities and protection for children must be taken into consideration by regulations and innovations in the already existing housing areas. This can only be achieved through public planning and financial aid from the public sector.

There are various reports on the unfortunate influence of big city environments and poor housing conditions. The effect of this development on the educational policy has not been examined thoroughly, e.g. the importance of urban life to children's universe and the possiblities of contact with the adult world. We consider it an immensely important feature of educational policy to remedy this. This is the more important as the dwellings and the housing patterns have a very long life and even a very extensive slum-clearance policy will not be able to change much in the next 30-50 years. It is important to get a better basis for fixing the order of priorities of the redevelopment effort.

G. Working Hours, Leisure Time and Flextime

21. One of the most characteristic changes in the ways of life in the last 20 years are *changes in the way the families spend their time*. For several generations there have been trends towards shorter working hours for wage earners. Since the 48-hour-working week was introduced in 1919, typical annual working hours of a fully employed worker have thus been reduced from about 2450 hours to about 1880 hours, an average reduction of 10 hours a year.

In recent years the number of women, in the labour market especially married women, have increased violently. In return their leisure time has been very much reduced. If both husband and wife have full time jobs, the total hours which can be spent on activities in their home – e.g. being together with their children – will be less than earlier. Leisure time has thus become more tense than before – despite the many new household facilities.

Especially in consequence here of there is an urgent desire for part-time employment and for more flexible working hours. We think that these trends will manifest themselves even more in the future, and that individual working hours will be somewhat shorter in the 1990s than now. It is possible that protracted periods of a high rate of unemployement will encourage this trend – but it is doubtful if those who have jobs will accept the decline in the standard of living wich shorter working hours will imply. And enterprises will probably try to avoid reduced working hours, which may mean less exploitation of the investment capital.

22. Shorter working hours are not necessarily the same as increased leisure time in the sense 'time at one's free disposal'. Several hours will be spent of preparing one's work or on commuting to and from the place of work. An extension of adult education will also occupy the leisure time as only very small parts of the adult education may be expected to take place during working hours.

An increasing part of the leisure time of the population must be spent on *participation in social life*, e.g. by way of membership of clubs, societies, etc., if the desire for participation in democratic decision making processes are to have a real meaning.

Leisure hours will also give people the possibilities of *creative work*, of reading, practising music, going in for sports, etc. At the same time more and more leisure hours will be spent on *'do-it-yourself activities'*. Houseowners must to an increasing extent repair and maintain their house, garden, leisure time equipment, etc. This is in line with other efforts to economize with raw materials through recycling and less inclination to throw away used things long before they are worn out.

23. All these trends in connection with working hours and leisure time are important to educational policy. On the one hand many people will as mentioned get more time for adult education. On the other hand new educational demands will arise, e.g. the demand for a number of practical skills. The interest in increased knowledge of social conditions will probably be stimulated by the increased possibilities of taking an active part in the life of the community.

H. The Structure of Trade and Industry and Employment

24. Economic growth has taken place concurrently with big changes in the structure of trade and industry. This applies to the balance between the different sectors of the economy, agriculture, handicraft, trade, the manufacturing industry, services, the liberal professions, etc., but also to the division into big and small en-

terprises as well as the internal sequence of operations and divisions of functions within the enterprises. Very characteristic features have been a sharp decline in the number of small independent firms and an increased division of labour based on specialization, both between enterprises and between the individual employees.

Even if the growth rate should become somewhat lower measured in physical units as e.g. the amount of energy and raw materials used, this does not necessarily have the result that there will no more structural changes. On the contrary the endeavours to save energy and raw materials may be encouraged through technological innovations and structural re-adjustment. Such endeavours may, however, be hampered by the inertia inherent in a number of social patterns.

Under these circumstances there is not much basis for more precise forecasts of the changes that may be expected in the structure of trade and industry. It may presumably be said with some certainty that employment openings in the agricultural sectors will be declining, whereas employment openings in the health, social services, and educational sectors will increase.

25. It will depend on an estimate of the other employment openings whether there is a general increase in economic activity or not, and especially whether it will be possible to increase total *exports*. The Danish economy will encounter big difficulties if we do not succeed in increasing foreign exchange receipts very much. This must be done in keen competition with the other industrial countries with inexpensive labour. Therefore a considerable improvement of our competitive power will be necessary.

The export markets offer many, but also very uncertain and ever shifting possibilities. Therefore it is not possible to estimate whether there will be concrete possibilities of expansion in one trade or another.

In general it can be said, however, that the best – perhaps the biggest – asset of Danish enterprises will be the qualified human effort at all levels, from the most simple processes of work in the workshop to management functions and research and development.

We shall not be able to obtain a satisfactory standard of living for everybody in the 90's unless the *employees* of private and public enterprises are *well-educated*. But how should the distribution be on the various fields and levels of education? Traditionally this is considered a question of what the private enterprises and institutions will demand from the employees. But the question can also be put the other way round: What will the employees demand from the enterprises and the places of work?

As mentioned in Appendix 5, the new type of enterprises which may be expected to penetrate export markets will be characterized by the facts '*that* it is knowledge-intensive, *that* it is very flexible as regards market orientation as well as choise of products, and *that* it is therefore based on all-round knowledge and know-how in connection with production, markets, financing, and management.'

But at best this will only serve as a guide in educational policy as far as a limited part of the labour force is concerned. However, we cannot in our educational policy accept that some part, be it big or small, of the labour force is left in the lurch and referred to extremely simply and perhaps also monotonous working processes, which cannot make their job a meaningful and stimulating one. The consideration for the human factor in production must therefore be given equal importance when the guidelines for our industrial development and educational policy are set.

I. Mass Media

26. The mass media, especially radio, and television, but also press, films, tape recorders, and video equipment, are among the fields in which the technological advances have had a revolutionary effect. This has opened up fantastic possibilities, not only for the news services and entertainments, but also for the dissemination of new knowledge and communication of cultural experiences and political messages. Development in these fields will no doubt continue, perhaps we have only just started. In a combination with the telenetwork and the methods of electronic data processing and storing of pictures and sound it will create spheres of application where we are not confined to the relatively few national and regional television programmes, but where the individual family, enterprise, school, etc. may choose between a great many offers, not least from private enterprises. This may increase the risk of such commercial aberations as we know from the pulp magazines and the yellow press.

27. This development will also be of decisive importance to the educational system. The consequences are far from clarified, but one of the effects seems to be a weakening of the educational monopoly of the school. The children and the young do not any longer receive knowledge exclusively in the version given by their teachers or the textbooks, but can compare what the teacher says with all that they hear on the radio or watch on the television, etc., and this is often the very latest information given in a very popular form. Besides children can share these experiences and influences with their parents.

We are convinced that this opens possibilities, which – if properly exploited – may be of immense value in our educational policy. We therefore *propose* the institution of an exhaustive investigation, not only of the possibilities of using radio, tv, and video tapes for teaching and education at all levels, but also of the reaction of the mass media on the work of the school.

J. The Political Direction

28. It is evident that many of the abovementioned reflections are far more than forecasts. Not only do they imply that it will be possible to direct developments through political decisions and the consequent measures, but also that agreement can be reached about the relative priorities of the different objectives.

It is evident from the doubt and uncertainty concerning our future, which we have expressed in the beginning of this chapter that we think that the development as such is not primarily politically directed. The decisions made at the different levels of our political system, including the various professional and industrial bodies, constitute one set of the forces which in conjunction with many others decide the development. Another set of forces is the owners' and entrepreneurs' influence on production in private enterprises and thus also on the working conditions and on what is offered to consumers. A third set of forces is the consumers' wants and preferences as they are seen in the purchasing pattern. The often very tough sales policy and heavy commercialization of trade and industry contribute to influencing the consumers' reaction to the sales offers from the firms. Finally impulses and forces from other countries affect the development very much.

29. We think, however, we can detect a long-term tendency according to which government influence is gaining increasing importance among the factors that determine the development. True enough, the development has also in this respect moved in waves, with periods of very

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strong state intervention and control in periods of crises as in the 1930s and during the two world wars, and a subsequent dismantling of restrictions and emergency measures. In the long run it seems, however, as if the public authorities are getting better possibilities of directing the development, and to this must be added the steady growth in the public sector and in that part of the total flow of incomes which passes through the public funds. We think this tendency will continue, even if growth in the public sector will no doubt be slowed down quite a lot in comparison with the 1960s.

30. Many people regard it as one of the risks of development that public administration may become bureaucratic and thus alienate the public authorities from the population. The new administrative technology involving computerization and the big central data banks, which makes the whole system impenetrable, is quoted as a factor that may have such an effect.

There is general agreement in the CCE that such a development is not desirable, and besides that more equality in education will reduce the distance between the technocratic elite and the ordinary man and thus prevent this development. It is likewise our opinion that a higher level of education for everyone may counterbalance the strong commercial dominance in a number of fields.

We find, besides, that there are also other tendencies in society which counteract the tendency towards bureaucratization and a strong centralization of the political power.

K. Democratization Processes

31. Thus there appears to be a clear tendency for more and more people to want participation in the decision-making processes. This may be connected with *both* the higher general level of education *and* the increasing influence of radio and TV on the public opinion. We regard it as something very valuable if this means *that* endeavours must be made to give any individual the greatest possible access to participation in deciding the matters which concern him or the group he belongs to *and* to ensure openness and information about the more general decisions which have been delegated to the elected representatives at various levels.

The stratification of the decision-making system, on which the representative democracy is founded, is necessary in a complex society, but it is obvious that fundamental problems may arise in the interaction between the levels.

32. The trends towards increased insight and co-determination in businesses as well as at the local level often leads to strong wishes from individual groups also to influence decisions which do not concern them alone, but which interfere in other interest fields. In a society with so many and sometimes incompatible views and interests as in the one we live in, it is often very difficult for the individual to see whether special and local interests must give way to overall considerations, and whether it is therefore necessary to submit to the majority decisions made at a higher level, where he was not present himself.

Naturally, it may be difficult for the individual or for small groups to accept decisions with which one does not agree, especially when they are felt to be downright unpleasant, and even more when it is suspected that considerations other than those that are made public have played a part.

The immediate danger in such cases is that some people feel disappointed and powerless against the public authorities or the political rulers, and this may in turn lead to a negative attitude to the *establishment*.

On the other hand a much too ready acceptance of overall decisions, may involve a danger that tendencies of centralization and bureaucratization in the public administration will prevail.

It will therefore be necessary to use every effort to inform the population and make it clear to them where the problems are, and to explain the fundamental attitudes and deliberations behind the decisions made. It is important that the problems, to the greatest possible extent, are put before the public so that they can debate them and make up their minds about them.

33. Besides, another two essential features of the democratization processes should be mentioned.

Firstly the tendency towards increased democratization is not only observed at the traditional and official level – the debate wihtin and between the political parties about central and local government policies, etc. – but also in unions, associations, and other organizations, in the regional communities, the individual enterprises, and public institutions. The forms of participation in management in enterprises have especially increased, ranging from the shop steward system and joint committees to employee representation on boards as well as more informal briefings, company conferences and staff magazines.

It is our impression that managers have a better understanding of and are taking more interest in modern management methods, involving workers' participation in the decisionmaking processes. That managements also have opposite interests to those of their employes, such as safeguarding the competitive position of the firm and the vested interests, is part of the picture.

The employees take a clear interest in further development both as regards further information and greater participation in decision-making. But often the employees feel rather helpless when facing the problems, and the managers, who, by virtue of better education and many years of management experience, have an initial advantage over the employee representatives, which the latter may find it difficult to cope with.

34. However, there is a continous and steadily increasing internationalization of the decision-making processes as more and more decisions are put before international and supranational bodies. There are numerous ways in which this is done. There may be informative discussions, negotiations leading to agreements between several countries, treaty obligations, and renunciation of competence to decide certain matters as is the case with the EEC. It does not make things easier to grasp that more and more regional and international bodies are gradually appearing, each one having special tasks and rules of procedure.

Many regard it as undemocratic that such bodies can influence or intervene in fundamental Danish decisions, and some people feel that the big countries have forced this limitation of the Danish right of self-determination on us. Another conception is that it is the technological, economic, and military developments that have gradually resulted in so strong an integration across historical borders that it has become expedient to establish fixed sets of rules and bodies to settle the many conflicts of interests and differences that arise all the time. In all circumstances this internationalization of the decision-making processes has become an important part of political life.

35. In our opinion the educational authorities cannot leave these problems unsolved, but they must make a real effort to prepare the next generation for participation in democratic prosesses. This is not just a matter of imparting knowledge of these processes – this will also be necessary – but also a matter of becoming familiar with participation in democratic decision-making, including leaving decis-

ion to elected representatives. A prerequisite is that the school will manifest itself even more in society.

The democratic systems of government which are practised in this country and, in slightly different forms, in our neighbouring countries and a few other industrialized countries are, from a global point of view, the exception from the typical system. Other, often very undemocratic systems of government are dominant in the world in general. This implies a constant danger to the stability of our democracy.

The systems of government which we have developed so far, are not a definite version. A freezing of the present system will definitely be against the interests of the population in stronger participation in society. There are not many features of our system of today, which we find positive and valuable, which cannot be improved. It is vital that the debate on this subject is carried on and that it takes place within the framework of the educational institutions.

Especially the continuous debate within the framework of democracy on the systems of government and the organization of society is exactly what separate democracy from dictatorship.

Most dictatorship countries deliberately use their educational sytem as a means to inculcate a certain political attitude on the young. It may be difficult for democracy to survive if the democratic countries refrain from using the school and the education to make the young aware of and to vitalize the political ideals on which we have founded our society. It is a prerequisite that the educational system is in itself based on democratic principles.

It is obvious that this raises great problems in the schools' work. We shall deal further with these problems in the next chapter.

36. *Finn Thorgrimson* states that LO (the Danish Federation of Trade Unions) on the whole endorses the views on our future society.

The LO must, however, reject the statement in section 21 that shorter working hours will entail a reduction of the standard of living of the individual. On the contrary, all experience shows that a reduction of working hours is always counterbalanced by a proportionately greater increase of the productive result.

We have with interest noted that it is recognized that trades and industries that are developing continously, will face considerably increased capital requirements, which it may be difficult to meet.

At the same time we also note that the demands for democratization in all sectors of society and especially in the firms are growing more and more.

This in conjunction with the statements made in this chapter on a slowing down of the increase of the standard of living or even a decline, will mean that the demand for economic democracy is getting more and more imperative since the trade union movement will only accept changes in the rate of increase in wages in the light of redistribution of private property and consequently changes in the decision-making processes in the firms.

The demand that political democracy should also be extended to include economic democracy will thus grow and will on necessity imply that economic democracy is carried through within the very next few years. At the same time LO wants to point out that the increased capital requirements mentioned in the chapter cannot be met without the capital formation created by economic democracy.

This change in the power structure of society, which will involve further thousands of people in the decision-making processes of the firms, will make heavy demands on our future educational system, especially as regards adult education, in which connection we refer to our proposal discussed below.

Chapter VIII

What Do We Expect from Education?

Aims and Intentions of the Educational Policy of the 1990s

A. To Qualify and to Socialize

1. The answers to the question: what do we actually want from school and education? differ very much. This is partly due to the fact that there are varying conceptions and attitudes among people, but it is also because schooling and education serve many purposes.

The traditional questions posed over and over when the school of today is discussed are: *do the children learn anything? What do they know? Are they getting on well at school?*

The parents want results when they send their children to school – and the results they first and foremost think of are *knowledge* and *skills*. But the children should preferably also learn to 'behave well'.

Any assessment of what children and young people get out of school and education is often a gross simplification. In actual fact it is very complicated to assess what schooling and education lead to.

If the school attaches so much importance to *achievements* in comparatively few fields – the typical school subject – it is perhaps because it is a glimpse of the obvious, so wonderfully tangible, and it also fits into the notions people have as to what knowledge they asquired – or did not acquire – when they attended school.

2. The question of what the school can or should provide concerns *firstly* the imparting of knowledge and skills in specific fields. But both from the point of view of the individual and society it is particularly important *what the content of the imparted knowledge* is, and what skills are acquired. What is the immediate importance of this to the pupils? And is it relevant to all aspects of their future lives and the situations they meet with?

But *secondly* the children acquire a great deal of other skills and competences in addition to acquiring knowledge and becoming abler in various respects. They develop certain *working habits* and *behavioural patterns,* and they are influenced by a number of factors leaving their mark on their attitudes and their *relations with other people and with society*. These elements of the results of schooling – the *educative* and *personality developing* aspects – have generally not received much attention, but they are at least as important as the imparting of knowledge and skills.

Finally mention should be made of the very important aspect: do the children like being at school, do they feel at home, do they have opportunities of developing their personality? This aspect is crucial because children spend such a large part of their life in educational institutions, but also because the *school succeeds best* if the children experience security, meet challenges, and feel happy about being active in the school community, rather than feeling that school is irksome and intolerable chores.

3. People talk of *qualifications* – training – as an expression of acquiring knowledge and skills – also in connection with the acquisition of working habits, wher-

eas the expression *socialization* is used to identify the process through which the individual human being is adapted to living together with and working together with other people within the framework of society. Man is to a high extent a *social being*. Contact with other human beings is a primary need – and you have to behave in such a way that the persons with whom you are to live together can stand being with you. To 'socialize' is used to characterize the *process of fitting a person into or educating him for the social framework in which he is to live.*

The word 'socialize' is not the happiest of choices, because it is reminiscent of socialism in a special ideological sense. But it should be remembered that the word *'resocialize'* has become an accepted term describing a situation in which a person has run foul of the law or opted out of society – such as for instance criminals and drug addicts – and has to be »led back into« and to be »reabsorbed« by society.

Socialization and qualification are often different aspects of the same teaching sequence or educational sequence. Nevertheless, it will make sense to speak of them as different elements of the educational system, each with their own social function.

In the following will be discussed the terms 'socialization' and 'qualification' with the main importance attached to clarifying their social importance and their role in the educational sequence.

We have decided to discuss qualification first and socialization next; this does not imply that they have been put in order of priority. In continuation of this the following chapter will discuss the question of equality and inequality in education with a view to pinning down the possibilities of getting a *more equality-oriented educational policy* – in our opinion one of the basic aims of education in the 1990s.

B. To Qualify and Qualifications

4. Nobody will disagree that the *qualifications* which the school is responsible for developing must have the practical aim, among others, to enable the individual to solve some tasks or manage certain situations later on in life.

As long as we only speak of the primary and lower secondary school, many will feel that there is only very little connection with the demands of working life, and trade and industry. It is sometimes said outright that the primary and lower secondary school is not supposed to give vocational qualifications. This is perhaps to some extent hair-splitting.

Of course a considerable part of the knowledge and the skills the pupils acquire in the primary and lower secondary school is of considerable importance for their future working life. As is well-known, trade and industry have always been interested in what happened within primary and lower secondary education, and with good cause. The skills of the young people in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and their knowledge of English, etc. are of great interest to the business enterprises which are to employ the young people, and a great deal of the other skills which the young people acquire in the primary and lower secondary school – such as diligence and the ability to be methodical – are also of importance for working life.

In our opinion we would rather ask whether the considerations about working life have not been too dominant compared with considerations for the other 'lives'.

5. The deliberations in this respect are however considerably blurred by the fact that the debate on the aims of primary and lower secondary education – and to some extent also upper secondary education – is taking place on a quite different level. The main part of the teaching in the primary and lower secondary schools

as well as at the subsequent levels is given in *subjects*, and the debate on aims is to a very high extent centered on the content of the subjects and the importance accorded to each of them in the teaching. Almost all deliberations on curricula and guidelines to the planning of subjects, etc. are subject-centered. It is such an established tradition that the detailed discussions about the opportuneness of a division of the subjects-which took place during the work on the preparation of the new Primary and Lower Secondary School Act – have only to a very limited extent left their mark on the Act.

To qualify has to many people become tantamount to giving *vocational* qualifications. This applies not only to the primary and lower secondary school, but also to the subsequent education or training, and to a certain extent also to the discussions on the training of artisans and to university graduates. But this can only be one aspect of qualification. The final purpose is of course that pupils are prepared for fending for themselves in life; vocational qualifications are important elements in this – sometimes a quite decisive element – and the work in the subjects and with the subjects has furthermore important educational functions – but are not the crux of the matter.

6. If the entire educational system from top to bottom is divided into teaching of specific subjects, and if the teachers are more or less specialized in very few subjects, it is of course due to the fact that in many respects this division has proved its strength.

It is an obvious factor that the division of the timetable into various subjects is something which offers practical advantages in the teaching. It is the basis of a division of labour and a specialization among the teachers, and it offers possibilities for a systematism which can be made the basis of time-tabling and for examinations, marking, etc. The disciplines provide the yardstick for what should be learned, and whether the pupils know what they are supposed to. The fact that teaching is concentrated on a number of individual subjects makes it easier to write textbooks and to specify the examination requirements, etc.

For the pupils this division of the timetable into various subjects gives a well-arranged orientation and feeling of security as regards the requirements. But in addition to this the subject-matter in an individual subject may form the basis of a stimulating presentation of issues and current problems, which – when properly used – can involve the pupils in the work.

An additional factor behind the traditional division of the timetable into various subjects is undoubtedly the scientific tradition for working with the subjects and the characteristic working methods which have emerged within the individual subjects.

7. But the question is whether the demands on the individual subjects – such as they are actually put – are the most appropriate yardsticks for an assessment of whether teaching and education provide 'the right kind of qualifications'. The evident risk is that each subject becomes an aim in itself, as for instance when subject teachers speak of 'the objectives of the subjects'. This may imply that something central in the educational overall picture may be lost or only become of secondary importance. The subjects cannot be dispensed with, but it is important that their functions are narrowly defined.

Thus it must in *the first place* be maintained that what takes place in the minds of the pupils and in the work with the pupils as a result of the teaching, is more important than the fragments of knowledge and the repertoire of skills they acquire – perhaps with the exception of literacy and numeracy.

Secondly it is of paramount importance that the subject-matter – be it knowledge or skills – is not isolated from its application, and that the subjects are not isolated from one another so that the connection between them is lost in all that is learnt under different subject headings.

Maybe it could be expressed in the way that a better balance should be established between

- the work *in the subjects* and
- the work *with the subjects*.

The work *in the subjects* implies the teaching centered on making the pupils acquire insight into the subject, and the acquisition of skills within a subject.

The work *with the subject* implies the teaching where insight and skills within specific subjects are used in the work of the pupils on general situations and problems in life.

The correct balance is not obtained by keeping the 2 types apart and by for instance providing a certain number of lessons for each of the types. The pupils should not always work *in* the subjects in some situations and in others *with* the subjects. On the contrary, efforts should be made to create a coherence so that the work in the subjects is to a wide extent determined by the work with the subjects.

The acid test of teaching is firstly whether it involves and stimulates the pupils, and secondly whether they acquire the qualifications they need. The teaching must equip the pupils for managing the wide variety of situations they will meet with in their lives. And this means being wellequipped for the wide variety of situations one is bound to meet in the 4 lives'. It has been accepted that it is important to qualify for *working life and economic life* – but after all not so accepted that *everybody* must be provided with good vocational qualifications; if that was the case there would not be the problem of a residual group. However, it is important to the individual as well as to society – perhaps in some situations even more important – to be qualified for *family life, community life,* and *leisure life*. We must base our efforts on a far broader concept of qualifications than the one which is often used, where the decisive factor is how much money you will be able to earn.

It is therefore necessary to pose the questions in all deliberations on what should be learned in the various trades and which skills should be acquired: In which part of our lives will this be important? In what types of situations will you need to know or do this? It is furthermore necessary to ask whether the young people will also be able to continue their studies on their own, and in general develop throughout all of their lives.

From this follows that the critical assessment and innovation of the content of the subjects must never cease, and must constantly be carried on with a view to the 4 lives. It is furthermore a consequence that to a higher extent it will be possible to ignore the traditional delimitations of the subjects. These consequence will be discussed in detail in the following sections, and in chapters IX and X.

8. The concept of qualification has many aspects however, and it is important for the debate to clarify them.

(a) Firstly, there is the traditional *framework of a subject-based curriculum;* according to this the individual school subjects and the subjects in the courses of vocational training and the courses of further education may be seen as equal parts of an extremely wide range of qualifications. In some subjects particular importance has been attached to knowledge, in others to skills. As a rule the combination of knowledge and skills and other qualities constitute a necessary prerequisite for obtaining a specific qualification.

Routine and thorough command of some sort of specialized field is as a rule a prerequisite for managing in business life – nobody will question that, but this does not provide an exhaustive answer to the question about the content of vocational qualifications. This problem will be discussed again below.

(b) As the *second* aspect of qualification may be mentioned the fact that in most situations it is of great importance that the person has a number of *general qualifications* in addition to the *special* vocational qualifications which are immediately relevant; such general qualifications may be the ability to-go-operate with others, to be able to make oneself understood to others, to take responsibility for one's own decisions, to be able to take into account the conditions governing a specific piece of work, etc.

These general qualifications are of course not only of importance in the business sector, but also in most of the situations which we may encounter. This aspect of qualification – which will also be discussed in detail in the following sections – is closely linked up with socialization.

(c) A *third* aspect of qualification is composed of *elements going from the simple to the complex, i.e.* the *degree of difficulty*.

Some subjects or stages within the subjects are comparatively uncomplicated, whereas others require a more thorough or comprehensive insight. Correspondingly, some skills are simple and easy to acquire, whereas others can only be acquired through long and intensive training.

This division into matters ranging from the simple to the complicated is not identical with the division into *manual work* and *intellectual work*. Manual work can also have a very high degree of difficulty; we need only mention instrument makers, circus performers, pianists, and surgeons. It is evident that these jobs require other things in addition to a large amount of manual skills, but it is important. 'Intellectual work' may be fairly uncomplicated, such as book-keeping and proof-reading, and it can be extremely complex (art, science, and management).

Just as the division of the timetable into different subjects is reflected in the division of labour in trade and industry, where a large number of jobs require specific vocational qualifications, the labour market is also divided into different job levels, which to a certain extent reflect different degrees of difficulties. This may be illustrated by 4 typical categories of jobs covering a very wide section of normal jobs:

- unskilled work
- skilled work
- work for university graduates, and
- management functions.

Of course there are considerable differences with regard to degree of difficulty, also between jobs on each of the 4 levels. However, it seems as if it is a typical and deeply rooted feature of our social structure that there is a close connection between the degree of difficulty in the demands as to qualifications in various jobs and the pay. This also provides a rough but important *combination of educational level and total income during working life and social position*, cf. chapters IV and IX.

(d) The fourth – and final – aspect is 'competence'. Whereas the degree of difficulty concerns the job and is part of a job description, competence is a facet of the person and the way he disharges his duties. Degree of difficulty and skill do not necessarily have to accompany each other – even though they often do so. The persons who have to use their qualifications in some field should preferably be competent, understood in such a way that they *have to know their job*. But at each level of difficulty and in each specialized field any person can be good at his job or not very able and competent. It should be mentioned that competence can be dependent on traits such as diligence, precision, and conscientiousness in one's work. Much competence is attached to the biological equipment of the individual person, such as strength, deftness, speed, and stamina.

Apparently it is of great importance when executing most types of work, and to a particular degree much work in trade and industry, that the person in question shows skill, and is able to do a good job. It is nonetheless remarkable that whereas the *degree of difficulty of the work* is typically rewarded through the fixing of the pay, there is a tendency that skill is not rewarded – at least not directly. The person who is good at his job and the less able having a similar job are by and large paid the same wages both in private firms and in public institutions.

The fact that attempts are made in many other and indirect ways to make up for this is another matter. The competent person normally have better prospects of promotion, and they can often obtain special benefits from their employers – and they may have more job security.

The relationship between competence and education is far more complicated than the relationship between the educational system and specialized knowledge and insight. This leads to the socializing effects of education and will be discussed later on in that connection. We would only like to add that competence is not only a personal quality to which importance is attached in the working life, but it is of course of great importance to all 4 lives.

9. A clarification of how the position of the educational system should be as regards each of the 4 aspects of the concept of qualification will contribute towards a clarification of the aims of education.

In actual fact this aspect is being considered time in society; it is done by many people, step by step, and in many ways, such as has been outlined in chapter IV. *The wishes and requirements of the business sector play a very large – and in some respects decisive role.* This takes place directly through formulated demands, and indirectly through the practice of the firms as regards employment, remuneration, benefitz, and promotion.

In any society production must be one of the most important factors, but it should not be decisive in itself. In addition to production and trade, the 3 other lives should also be considered. But apparently there are not sufficiently energetic advocates of these other considerations. However this does not imply that in all or in many respects there is necessarily an incompatibility between the demands on the educational system made by trade and industry, and the requirements from the regard for our actions and experiences in the other lives.

Such incompatibilities are often stressed very much in educational policy debates. Sometimes we hear the special interpretation that the requirements of trade and industry or the 'consideration for production' only express 'the demands of capital'; this is then seen as being in conflict with the interests of the workers and the consumers. Even though the points of view of business as well as its requirements for specific labour qualifications may differ from the points of view which the 3 other lives will lead to, the differences are probably not insuperable. Many of the demands made by private enterprises are requirements which generally apply to work processes and co-operation between human beings, not only in actual production, but also when people participate in leisure-time activities, and when they participate in community life and family life.

10 Even though there is widespread uncertainty and disagreement among people as to the degree and the ways in which *ability should be rewarded*, and even though prevalent ethical basic attitudes express a serious doubt as to the justice of assessing people differently according to the degree of their personal ability, it must be admitted that there is a *clear tendency to aim at ability*. Precisely the fact that the individual develops and administers his potential – no matter how modest – is stressed time and again as something ideal. The fact that some people or omit to use their abilities and opportunities is stigmatized.

This is simply a fundamental principle in our society and does not only apply to working life as it is today. The new feature of the more democratic and equality-oriented society of today is perhaps that the demand for personal competence is to an increasing extent also made on the upper class, on the rulers, and on the rich.

The CCE finds that the *demand for competence* – at all levels of complexity – *must continue to be central* in the educational system. But we also realize that this implies a danger that the principle is adhered to so rigidly that the way is paved for new inequalities with discrimination to the advantage of the diligent and the able. This can furthermore complicate the situation for those who for some reason find it difficult to keep up with the rest of the class. This in its turn may be a threat to the solidarity between the pupils in favour of an individual rat race. This conflict between different values should not be concealed, and we consider it useful if *the politicians* could give clear quidelines as to the degree to which the demand for competence should be a clue in the educational system, and what consequences would be accepted as regards discrimination as a result of differences in ability.

11. The questions outlined above can be seen most clearly in *the principles of evaluation*, be it through examinations and marking or through oral and written reports.

Business enterprises are obviously interested in having an evalution of the qualifications to which they attach importance. But tests and examinations can interfere very much with the teaching – more or less, depending on the types employed.

Any type of examination influences the working climate at the educational institutions. The pressure put on the work may disturb the teaching in touchy situations, both as regards the pupil-teacher relationship and the pupil-pupil relationship. However, it is important to assess the level of attainment of the pupils, and whether the aims of the teaching have been reached. The latter aspect applies not least to the subjects where it is decisive that a specific knowledge or specific skills have been acquired. And of course this applies especially to the final level of attainment for the student. But good examination results must never become an educational aim. And the fact that some qualifications are easier to evaluate than others should not give them preference.

Tests and examinations are by many considered to be the clearest indication that the school is a *machine for sorting people*. Even though this is probably an overstatement, there seems to be the connection that the markings in the primary and lower secondary school can at least contribute towards intensifying the process of social selection, not so much because the examinations reflect the demands for qualifications made by trade and industry, but rather because the academic slant of the school still makes itself felt as an expression of the cultural tradition which is more closely connected with the upper social groups than the lower.

The demands for qualifications made by the labour market are of course not only based on subjective points of view held by employers and managers. The demands for qualifications reflect in fact the entire pattern found in trade and industry and society in general with the existing *division of labour*. It is a pattern which is firmly characterized both by the technology of the industrialized countries and the resultant production structure and division of labour, and by the existing power structures in the business enterprises. This applies not only to the commercial production – covering 75 per cent of all of our workplaces, but also the work routines and the distribution of roles in the public service institutions (25 per cent of the labour force).

The educational institutions are heavily influenced by the intense specialization of production and by the division of the labour market into specialized sectors with their own trade unions, employers' organizations, and trade organizations, etc. But this pattern of production and work cannot be concidered to be deadlocked for a large number of years, and the lay-out of the educational system is one of the factors which in the very long term – i.e. 20 to 50 years – contributes towards changing the structure of production.

Such changes will in many respects be desirable. But we definitely do not think that we should aim at making changes implying a weakening of the standards of specialized knowledge, insight, and skills, etc.; on the other hand we find it fair to supplement narrow specialized qualification with something broader. Society will in fact need experts with great competence in a narrow field for various functions. But it is equally true that *a society where everybody is skilful in his trade and only there, without any understanding of the connection between the various elements in society, and without the ability to co-operate, will not be able to survive.*

Thus it is not a question of choosing to the exclusion of all other possibilities. Society needs expertise and consequently also experts, but we cannot permit ourselves to have more than a very few exceptional people working in blinkers in a very narrow field.

The neccessity of more *extensive qualifications* concerns both school subjects proper and the various subjects with a vocational slant. This improved breadth may very well consist of a combination of a higher degree of competence in a narrow field, combined with limited knowledge and skills in a wide range of fields. It is of great value seen from the point of view of the individual and seen in relation to all situations of life. But it may also be of value seen from the point of view of the business enterprises. The individual firm is in fact immediately interested in having an employee who has a high degree of efficiency in the limited field in which he works at the moment. This chould be weighed against the situation where the employees with a wider basis of qualifications will have better prerequisites for participating in teamwork, and will find it easier to acquaint themselves with and adjust to new methods of production and new situations in a firm. At the same time it will give the employees a higher degree of security against changes in employment conditions.

13. The perspectives of additional breadth in the subjects – be it in primary and lower secondary education, upper secondary education or any other type of education – have been discussed in detail over a number of years, and they are described in chapter X. We would only like to point out here that more interdisciplinary work will *require a wider spectrum of knowledge* of the teacher – but at the same time the work may become

more challenging and exiting for the teacher, as it can contribute towards making the work of the school more meaningful for the pupils, and towards involving them to an increasing extent.

Increased interdisciplinarity will often require co-operation between the teachers teaching the same form and furthermore it will require that the timetable, divided into different subjects, is dropped in certain periods.

The demands on teacher training should be seen in the light of these factors.

14. It is, however, even more important to bias the traditional school subjects towards practical every day working situations than to broaden the teaching. Such a development is already in progress; by way of example may be mentioned general informative subjects such as vocational studies, domestic science, and contemporary studies. It would be desirable that this trend continues.

We consider it for instance to be of great value that the school contributes towards giving a broad insight and *skills concerning a number of practical matters* which are of importance for the participation in the working life as well as in family life and leisure life, and they are also important to the general understanding of what takes place in society.

Among important examples may be mentioned:

a) Knowledge of, but not routine in *the handling of all the common tools*, such as hammer, knife, ax, saw, drill, etc., which are basic for a wide range of different work processes.

b) Knowledge of *important materials and their properties* (wood, metals, cardboard, stone, plastic, textiles, chemicals, etc.). Including their flammability, durability, toxicity, etc.

c) Knowledge of the *typical techniques of joining* using e.g. nails, screws, bolts, welding, glueing, sewing, coupling, etc., which all exist in many variants in almost all production processes.

d) Corresponding knowledge of the *techniques of transportataion and lifting*, and finally.

e) *Methods of storing and preservation*, for instance with a view to foodstuffs.

This type of general knowledge does not exactly belong to what in general school usage is understood by *general education*, but it could be said with perfect justice that exactly in the industrial culture will these prerequisites be of importance to everybody. Of course it is not something which implies *vocational qualifications*, but it will give an orientation about abilities and interests. On the other hand *the routine* within a well-defined work and production area can only be obtained throught actual vocational training.

It is clear that such *practically oriented insight* cannot be acquired without a good deal of practical work of some sort, and thus also physical activities. This is *educationally desirable for several reasons*. It will mean great advantages with regard to motivating and involving the pupils by making the subject-matter more down-to-earth and meaningful for the individual. Using practical tasks as a basis it will be possible to establish a connection with general deliberations and with abstract theory. During the work with practical tasks it can be illustrated how general and theoretical insight is valuable as a tool for managing a practical task in an easier and/or safer way. But we also consider the physical activities – which have been accorded a low priority in the present educational system – as an important element in a changed ideal of *general education* placing manuel work and practical work on an equal footing with bookish learning and theoretical work.

It is furthermore an important element in an *equality-oriented* educational policy that the gap between physical and intellectual (theoretical) work is bridged.

15. The basic point of view that vocational training should be made less narrow, and at the same time aim more consciously and markedly at the possibilities of application in all aspects of daily life – the 4 lives – will not only have consequences in stressing practical skills.

It is important that *children are made resource conscious early in life*, that they learn to look after their possessions, *to keep up, repair, and put them to some other use*. This element must be introduced early and continue all the way through the educational system.

It is important that questions concerning *health* and *hygiene* are also included in education. Subjects such as health and illness, epidemiology, etc., cannot be limited to one subject but touches on a large number of subjects. Everyday life at school will constantly provide situations for bringing these matters up for discussion – for the teachers of biology, chemistry, and physical education – just as it should be considered in a historical and social perspective. For the sake of completion we would like to add that better opportunities for the physical development of the pupils should be provided. 2 hours a week for physical education are not sufficient.

Furthermore may be mentioned *risk consciousness* and *knowledge of how to avoid risks*. Industrial accidents, traffic accidents, and accidents in the home and in leisure-time are so shockingly common and cause so much suffering and cost so much that it is necessary to start the preventive work early. These aspects are also on their way to becoming introduced in the work of the school – but we are only in the early stages.

And then it should be said clearly and explicitly that the *school should deal with the central questions of emotional life* and its importance in the relations between people. The emotional life is characterized by such factors as friendliness and consideration, warmth and love, as well as by hostility and aggressions, fear and violence. Children and young people should get to know themselves, understand the typical patterns of reaction, and understand how they influence the 4 lives, with all their good or bad qualities.

Even though many parents can manage these tasks, and even though some parents do not want the interference of the school, the parents and the school should co-operate on this problem. Children spend so much time at school, and of course they also have an emotional life during school hours, so for this reason – if for no other – it is impossible for the school to ignore this aspect of life, no matter how well the parents may look after their children.

16. In conclusion we would like to mention *a number of more general qualifications*, the acquisition of which could equally well come under the heading of socialization as under the heading of qualification. The qualifications can be divided into 2 groups:

The first comprises such behaviour habits or qualities as: stability in the way of working and work routine, the capacity to be methodical, precision in the execution (low percentage of error and good utilization of materials), the ability to read instructions, to use cataloques and handbooks, and the ability to acquire knowledge on one's own.

The second group comprises traits such as reliability, sociability, the ability to co-operate with others, openness towards others, the understanding and acceptance of dissimilarities, the ability to assess and adapt to new situations and to be prepared to meet new people.

By attaching increased importance to all these general qualifications – i.e. to aim more at them in the daily work in *all subjects and activities at school* – it would be possible to contribute to making all young people better equipped for working life as well as for all the other lives. It is in fact conspicuous that these qualities are *not specifically* qualifying for trade and industry, and not first and foremost spring from the demands made by the business sector for employees with specific abilities and skills. *The qualifications and skills are of importance for all aspects of life.*

Today importance is only attached to a narrow and often very one-sided set of qualifications at many workplaces. *We all need* an extensive and all-round set of qualifications in life taken as a whole. The broader the basis is, the better will the basis be for faring well in the many situations of life – including situations in working life.

Such a broader basis taken as a whole would for everybody be a valuable counterweight to the tendencies to specialization and technocracy.

It can furthermore contribute towards giving the individual more opportunities and a better basis for choosing a trade.

17. The political consequences for the school of giving teaching the slant described above is *not* that *more practical subjects* should be introduced into the curriculum, but to make practical situations – including practical work processes – a natural and integrated part of all subjects.

In this connection it will often be possible to visualize the connection between the 4 lives, e.g. that you meet the same or parallel practical problems in the different situations. The fact that an incident takes place at the workplace, in the home, in the sports ground, or in nature, etc. is often only a question of different external circumstances and different social settings, but the demands on us are the same.

In conclusion: Such a practically slanted educational attitude will undoubtedly create better opportunities and more requests for creativity and self-expression.

C. Socialization – Upbringing

18. *Socialization and upbringing* commences when the child is born and continues in the family, and later on with strong influences from friends and the environment in the years of growth. To this should be added the impulses from kindergartens, school, continued education, etc., as well as later on from military service, workplaces, clubs and assocations, etc.

The process continues throughout life, not least in the life at the workplace. In extreme cases – for instance in cases of illness and disablement – there may be total changes of the basic reactions of a person in his later years towards other people. This can also occur if a person is under heavy social pressure, such as we have experienced it under rough working conditions or in social crises – long-term unemployment – and political revolutions (e.g. nazism in Germany).

But a number of surveys confirm that the most important patterns of behaviour and attitudes to other people are founded early – even though there might be quite important changes or modifications later on, for instance in adolescence. Young people who have run foul of the law and meet other young people at institutions for youths in order to be *resocialized*, may be caught by the criminal environment and instead be 'socialized for continued criminal activities'.

This last case is an extreme example. But the process of socialization is almost always subject to conflicts, because the upbringing and the other influences the children are subject to in the different environments in which they are – the home, the school, among friends, at the workplace, etc. – are from being in harmony with one another.

19. Socialization is not isolated from other influencing factors. Almost always when people are together there is – often as a parallel process – a transference of specific behaviour patterns and operational norms from one individual to another, or from a group of individuals to the individual person.

The parents' upbringing of their children only partly takes place as a conscious process, and far more frequently – and perhaps with the highest intensity – as a conveying of habits and attitudes realized by none of the parties.

The learning of knowledge, skills, and working routines will especially *at school* be bound to be closely connected with a socialization, one of the reasons being that all activities at school are taking place in an interaction with other people – teachers and comrades – and within specific social structures and work routines. The acquisition of specific qualifications of importance for the working life and the other lives can thus in many cases be difficult to separate from the socialization which takes place at the same time. The 'content' of the socialization may be the attitude to the work itself (co-operation), the attitude to the school, to the teachers, to the comrades, etc. It may be the imprint of traits such as motives of performance, the inclination to competition, self-centering or obedience, respect for the authorities and for one's superiors, etc.

There is an imperceptible transition from general qualifications such as attention to one's duties, precision in the work, the ability to co-operate, etc., to personal qualities such as politeness, friendliness, openess, stubbornness, etc. The traits are also in certain contexts qualifying for the labour market. In some social contexts domineering, bluntness or cunning may be more qualifying as a means (short-cut) of asserting oneself.

Many of these attitudes and qualities are subconsciously characterized through the mode of teaching, and much is dependent upon the personality of the individual teacher. Traditional patterns of behaviour at the educational institutions will undoubtedly play a role. Most of the attitudes are also social, i.e. tied to the concrete social system with its economic, social, and political structure

Socialization is however an aspect of teaching which is seldom put down in writing as instructions as such or guidelines for the teacher. It is therefore often called *the hidden curriculum* as opposed to the official instructions contained in the curricula and guidelines to subjects.

Socialization is sometimes called an *adaption* in the sense that certain patterns and attitudes are imprinted on people, and these behaviour patterns and attitudes are those accepted by the environment or society. Some people criticize this and say that on the contrary it should be avoided that the individual 'is conditioned'. The individual should instead learn to *be critical,* to take a position on problems, and to learn to refuse being indoctrinated.

If the debate on these aspects often seems frustating, it is among other things due to the fact that words used are ambigous. It is much too imprecise only to talk of conformity as opposed to *being critical.* To a wide extent it is a case of conforming and being critical.

20. The decisive consideration as far as educational policy is concerned is that one way or other children and young people cannot avoid having their attitudes shaped and adapted to their surroundings (which is describes as 'socialization'). There is no way in which the school can avoid having this educative effect. Consequently it is necessary to ask if it would not be preferable, or rather quite simply necessary for the school to be much more conscious of the socialization process.

If the school must take such a step, it is first and foremost necessary that what is termed the hidden curriculum is brought into the open, and secondly that it is realized quite clearly what the question is and what results are being aimed at. There is no reason to conceal that this is difficult. This is partly due to the fact that far from all the phases of socialization have been mapped out by research. But it is also difficult because it touches on aspects of education which are highly controversial in our society which is divided and marked by conflict. However, it is not possible to make any headway in considerations on educational policy if we constantly shirk these basic issues, for instance by expressing our pious hopes and by using golden phrases.

A prerequisite for obtaining results is that we try to pin down exactly what it is we want – and where opinions differ and views become icompatible. But perhaps people may after all agree on more aspects than is expected.

In the following we have made a breakdown by a number of different elements in socialization as a point of departure for the continued considerations on the content and role of socialization in education.

21. *Language* is an important element. It can tie people together, and it can divide. The common language provides solidarity differences in language – vocabulary, pronunciation, sentence structure, and application – may indicate class or group differences, sex differences, age differences, individual differences, ect.

Launguage instruction is a typical example showing how closely wound up with each other qualification and socialization are. To master the linguistic means of communication is a fundamental qualification in a number of respects. The ability to use language is not only a question of using words correctly, but it is tied up with a number of other factors – knowledge, experience, imagination, and initiative, as well as attitudes, lines of action, emotions.

As an element in a more equality-oriented educational policy is often suggested improved efforts to provide the child with a linguistic equipment, and preferably as early as possible. But this task is not unproblematic, one of the reasons being that language is deeply rooted in other circumstances. It can incidentally also be very valuable that different dialects are spoken, and that there are different sociolects in the speech community.

The language would be poorer if vigorous efforts were made to make it the same for everybody, and this is also in conflict with the fact that language is subject to continuous development, and that *innovation comes from all strata of the population*. It is not likely, either, that parents would think it a good idea to attempt to standardize the language of children – unless is war their own language which was imprinted on the children of other people.

On the other hand it ought to be natural to try to help and support those children in their speech development who find it difficult to assert themselves through language, and who have an restricted language as a result of their own social background.

Studies of the language of children show, however, that those factors which are interpreted as inadequate command of language may be a result of the fact that the horizon of children is different, influenced by the environment in which they have grown up.

22. This leads us to the next element, namely that *a common sum of knowledge and ideas* of daily life, society, nature, the history of Denmark, etc. constitutes the principal element of socialization.

Of course the general knowledge which is acquired at school – and to an increasing extent also in the various 'basic courses' such as basic vocational training, etc. – serves to a high extent the purpose of qualifying for specific purposes. But all general educative subject-matter and also a large part of the specialized subject-matter are aimed at creating common concepts and ideas and knowledge to that people will be able to talk together and to refer to places, events, and persons and be understood at once. It is perhaps to a certain extent less important what the content of the common knowledge is, while it is of paramount importance that it is common to all. This will for instance clearly appear from the difficulties immigrants face in the new environment, and it is an important dividing line between social classes in a society with a high degree of class division.

Seen from another angle it is of course not unimportant what the content of the common knowledge is. It is just as insufficient if it is primarily a knowledge of production and technology as if it is chiefly bookish learning. The common knowledge must at any rate include the society in which we live and the most important ways of social interaction within the framework of it. In short, there must be common concepts of the main features of the 4 lives.

It is a *political* task to decide the extent to which this common basis of knowledge is to be contemporary and socially oriented. It is for instance more important to know who Christian II*) was than who Stauning was? (Stauning was a Danish politican, later Prime Minister, who linked his name to a crucial development in Denmark's political life from middle-class rule to social democracy). A possible answer may be that the most important thing is to understand the social and political conflicts underlying the power struggle which led to the Massacre of Stockholm as well as to understand the social development which led a cigar-maker to premiership in the 1920s.

23. Whereas the above-mentioned elements in socialization are closely linked up with qualification, in the sense of the acquisition of knowledge and skills, the following elements are less unequivocally linked up with it. We are dealing with the extremely controversial issues: To what extent should the school influence the attitudes and behaviour patterns of the pupils, and how extensive should the educative efforts of the school be?

The third element of socialization which we would like to mention here, is the extensive set of general *behaviour norms and social conventions* which are prevalent in society or sectors of society, and which educationists and others try to make the pupils observe through mild sanctions, but which are not considered to be so important that they belong to ethics.

A number of examples of such behaviour norms may serve to illustrate the point:

- to say hello and good-bye
- to say thank you and no, thank you
- to shake hand correctly
- not to dishonour the flag
- to make way for the disable and the elderly
- to wait until your turn comes
- not to interrupt the speaker
- to sit still in class
- not to tell on school mates
- not to swear
- not to get drunk
- to be kind and considerate
- to do as the teacher tells you.

These are only a few examples, but they will suffice to give an impression of the many behaviour norms which are implanted in the pupils – often whit the parents and the teachers taking great pains to obtain the desired results.

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*) (Danish king 1513–23. Ruled Sweden and Norway, too. Ordered a massacre of noblemer in Stockholm 1520.)

In many debates on norms and attitudes much mention is made of our class-divided culture, and not least of the difference between the ideals and attitudes of the middle class and the working class, which may clash in school, and which in the opinion of many people favour the norms of the middle class.

It can be quite difficult to define the precise content of this – even though it sounds immediately self-evident that there are different sets of values in different social classes. Some examples may illustrate such differences.

The following attitudes would probably be immediately acceptable in middle-class environments:

- to make one's way in the world
- to take good care of one's belongings
- diligence, to go about one's work properly
- self-control
- frugality
- modesty (true and false)
- thrift
- not to mingle in the private affairs of other people.

Opposed to these we can mention examples of behaviour patterns which are considered to be valuable in working class invironments:

- solidarity
- to organize
- not to force the pace
- class consciousness
- to take action for one's cause.

If many will feel some uncertainty when seeing such examples, it is undoubtedly due to the fact that the clear-cut class division in Danish society is no longer the same as it was before. There is no doubt, however, that we still have many types of social environments with different norms, ideals languages, and social conventions.

This must create a number of problems which the school cannot ignore. In particular the school cannot leave the entire issue to the 'hidden curriculum', i. e. it cannot pretend that the educative function does not exist or that officially it is none of the school's business.

24. A more deep-rooted element of socialization is the acquisition of a *common morality* and *common ideas of the things you are allowed to do and the things you are not allowed to do*. The provisions of the penal code constitute the last bulwark in this respect.

The fundamental moral concepts are obviously an important element in socialization. A few examples may illustrate this:

- not to lie ('white lies' may however be acceptable)
- to keep a promise
- to keep an appointment
- to respect the rights of other people
- not to take the law into one's own hands
- not to use violence.

These are examples taken from a wide spectrum of rules of which many are characterized by constantly being in a state of development, and by being different from one environment to another, which makes it difficult for the teachers to deal with this aspect. Even moral concepts which are generally accepted as a common basis for contemporary society are not necessarily eternal. And it would not be reasonable to maintain that young people must accept the justification of *all* ordinary moral directions as well as all rules in the penal code. *But some moral concepts and legal provisions are so fundamental that most people in society will as a matter of fact accept them, and it is necessary that the next generation have a positive attitude to these rules implanted at an early age.*

It is important that young people are made to *understand* the role all these norms play in different societies, and why it is necessary to follow the rules applying in one's own society.

The attitude to *violence* may be said to be of immediate topicality for Danish children and young people, as well as for others. It plays a direct role in the daily life at school, for instance in the form of mobbing, and the teachers have to discuss this problems in detail in the lessons.

Another topical question is the attitude to *solidarity*, for instance between pupils in the relationship between pupils and teachers, etc.

There are many levels of solidarity, ranging from 'solidarity with society' to 'class solidarity', and in extreme cases 'gang solidarity'. The latter example may, as will be known, in a narrow circle be an extremely powerful social factor, and it illustrates that solidarity in itself is not unambiguously good, but may lead to a strong conflict with other norms. But the one who does not feel solidarity with anybody is poor.

The problem is that a number of the common rules and regulations are outdated, one of the reasons being that they reflect social conditions and structures of power which many people will no longer accept. Perhaps the rules and regulations were reasonable in a society of the past with other social conditions, but not today. This leads to the political circle of problems which are discussed below, and the question of the type and extent of a 'critical' attitude to the rules and regulations in force.

25. The fifth and perhaps particularly interesting element of socialization to be discussed at this point, is the role of the school in the conveying of *a number of political attitudes and basic principles.*

The conveying of political attitudes takes place in the homes as well as in other environments, and in the school. It is often to a high extent a case of unconscious or not officially recognized influences. 'Contempt of politicians' is for instance seldom something which the pupils learn directly, but something they learn indirectly through the way parents or teachers talk of politicians. The same is the case with their attitude to 'democracy' or to certain democratic institutions or to certain ideologies.

Of course there are a number of political assessments which the school must avoid insinuating into the teaching. The school must *not* side with or against any party, either directly or indirectly. *But the school must include the political aspect of society as a fundamental element of our culture* alongside art, production, science, and sports. The very fact of 'thinking in political terms' and realizing that all social conditions have a political aspect, are part of the culture, and we believe that the politicians who are to determine the overall aims of educational policy will be able to accept this basic view.

The school must provide the next generation with the basis for understanding *how the political system works* in Denmark of today, how it worked previously, and how it works in other countries. And it must go a step further and try to imprint *a positive attitude to the basic principles of our version of representative government,* in the sense that young people will accept this type actively and use its possibilities – to expand and to consolidate them. There are in fact important rules and principles on which almost all parties can egree – or at least agree to profit from – namely *law and order* and *protection* by the law of the individual and of *the democratic civic rights* laid down in our Constitution.

Naturally these values recede into the background in the constant political infighting on concrete matters and interest. The important thing is that the next generation will understand that there is a framework of axioms behind the current debate, which is not always in itself suited for disposing the young people favourably towards politicals affairs.

It is evident that teaching in this field must to a high extent be based on *knowledge of social structure, political institutions, and the political system.*

But it is furthermore of paramount importance that the pupils should learn more than what they read in the books or what the teachers tell them. Particularly, the aim will not be reached if teachers use authoritarian principles in their relations with the pupils. If *education for democracy* is to live up to the expectations, the entire behaviour pattern which is used at school in the relationship, not only between pupils and teachers, but also between the teachers and headmaster, and between teachers and parents, must be characterized by a democratic attitude.

Lastly it is important that the pupils participate in practice in the democratic processes, such as speaking and discussing in an assembly. It is valuable to know meeting procedures and to learn to deal with public institutions and authorities, etc. Democratic procedures of negotiation and decision-making must be something experienced personally, and the pupils should learn how it is possible to change circumstances which they find to be wrong through these processes.

26. The idea that the school is to contribute towards forming the attitudes of the pupils in the directions mentioned above is met with opposition from 2 quite different quarters:

a) One group of adversaries maintain that the school and the teachers should stay away from this, because it is a matter for the parents, and because a conflict arises between the school and the parents if the school mingles with political and moral attitudes. The school should not educate but teach; it shall impart knowledge and develop skills, not influence attitudes.

This opinion which is deeply rooted in Danish educational policy may lead to a *school which must be neutral as regards values,* or it may lead to *relativism in teaching.* As recently as in the comments on the Primary and Lower Secondary School Bill, 1972 the following passage could be found:

'The school should abstain from formulating a common value-oriented aim for education – with the exception af such inherent human qualities as sincerity, integrity, openness, friendliness, and tolerance and such basic ethical principles as truth, equality, justice, consideration for others, etc. In a society where there are such different opinions of the practical-political consequences of these principles as it the case, *the school should take a neutral stance* on ideological and political convictions (opinion forming). But this does not imply that the primary and lower secondary school as an institution cannot have a formulated educational aim, or that teaching of the school cannot be characterized by the personal attitude and involvement of the teacher. The aim of education may be to make it possible *for the individual pupil to take his own position on important matters in life,* and this includes that the pupil should be acquainted with the opinions of other people in an atmosphere of mutal confidence and respect'.

b) The other group of adversaries insist that when the school tries to imprint certain attitudes it may suit the interests of the 'rulers'. There may be an indoctrination to the roles which young people are to accept under capitalism and in the class society. Against this it is urged that the school should develop a *critical attitude*, especially to the present social system, to capitalism, to the rulers, etc., or in broader terms: a critical attitude to the absurdities and in justices of society.

27. The view that 'each family should be able to send their child to school without hesitation' may however easily become a *political pretext for doing nothing*, – to shirk the social issues.

Is the school to be a means of preserving the present social structure, or should it contribute towards changing (improving) society?

This is evidently one of the fundamental conflicts of values in the educational system.

We find that education must be based on the recognition that a development exists which renders it necessary that children and young people are liberated from a number of traditional ideas, which the parents also have.

For parents with a patriarchal conception of the patterns of sex roles it is of course painful if the children bring home from school ideas of sex equality and the emancipation of women.

If we however persist in the point of view that it is none of the school's business whether some children have racial prejudices, others an old-fashioned sex education, and others again believe in an old-fashioned pattern of sex roles, etc., the result will be that the school cements the basic for a number of conflicts for the next generation later on in life.

For parents who themselves have been socialized into the common concept and norms, there will not be major problems in accepting a school which is neutral as regards values, but thit is exactly due to the fact that to a fair extent the 'neutrality' implies an adjustment to the common norms.

The concept that the school must be neutral neglects, however, the close connection between social order, current concepts of values, and the role of the school. It is also poor educational practice to shirk these issues, which are often those young people are interested in, and in which some of them are very much involved.

The inherent danger in a school which refrains from demonstrating an attitude to the central conflicts of values in society, is *on the one hand* that the children may easily become socialized in the image of their parents and become so 'conformist' that they become 'locked-in', so that they will find it hard to find their bearings in new situations and currents. Intolerance of 'people who think differently' may also be the consequence.

28. The danger in maintaining the neutrality of the school is *on the other hand* that the young people become confused and uncertain. *The ideal picture of young people who take a position on their own on major as well as minor problems of life*, (cf. the quotation above), who think as critical and mature beings, and who are therefore able to find out what basical values and what pattern of norms they are to build their lives on, such a picture is based on an unrealistic view of other people. The individual is unable to take an independent position on all the important questions of values which young people and children are constantly faced with.

Independence does not consist in being critical or sceptical of everything and does not presuppose that the individual himself is to take a position on all issues resulting from a conflict between the concepts of values. On the contrary, independence means that the given basis of values will enable the individual to decide what to do in a given situation. and when such a decision has been made, the individual will realize the ensuing responsibility, and be prepared to take the consequences of being responsible for such a decision.

This type of indepence is of course of paramount importance in a society such as the Danish, which is experiencing a development leading us away from the authoritarian principles of administration of past generations.

29. It can often be difficult to see the difference between the above-mentioned differences between the young person *who thinks independently and critically,* and the concept that the school should make young people *critical of society in the special sense that they get a negative attitude to the existing society.* The humanistic demand for independent attitudes has – in perhaps slightly general terms – often been used as a pretext for such an *indoctrination* in a specific direction, be it left-wing marxist or ultra right-wing. In this case it has in fact nothing to do with critical attitudes, but it is *a case of a repudiation of another set of norms* than the ones officially accepted.

30. It is clear that the process of socialization, in the sense of the conveying of specific concepts of values, has its limits and presents a number of problems when we get further into the field of the political attitudes.

The difficulties stem from the fact that *there will always be ideas and attitudes on which people cannot agree.* There are conflicting ideas of what is 'right' both in moral, cultural, political, and economic fields.

This is how it must necessarily be in a society with large economic inequalities, as well as differences in the power, influence, esteem, and social position of the individual.

The teaching of the school must not conceal that there are such inequalities and conflicts, and that they are the ones which above all underlie the political differences of opinion and conflicts – directly and indirectly – which are often constituent parts of a power struggle.

However, at the same time the large field of common basic values should be covered, and covered on the basis of a positively affirmative attitude. This must not take place in the shape of an authoritarian indoctrination, but must on the other hand be supplemented with a critical attitude to all the tendencies resembling blind orthodoxy. There is no reason to conceal that this often implies a difficult balance act for the teachers.

31. *Knud Øligaard* agrees that the rapid changes in the structure of the business sector and society require improved adaptability of *the qualifications* obtained through education; this adaptability could be obtained by improving inter-disciplinary co-operation, an improved interaction between practical pursuits and bookish learning, easier possibilities of transition from on course to another, and improved retraining for updating.

On the other hand I strongly deprecate any use of the word or the term *'to socialize'* in the U-90 report. Among the reasons for this is that the word will invariably result in misunderstandings and emotional blockage in the case of the readers because the word is emotionally charged, and because only vere few people can be familiar with the meaning of the word in this report. I find that the meaning aimed at can be expressed in plain language wherever the word appears: the ability to co-operate, the ability to live together, furthering or promoting a sense of community. The use of such words would be more consistent with the wish of the Minister 'to win popular understanding for the U-90 report'.

The word socialization is unfortunate because it reminds one of a political ideology, and it is generally known as a polical or trade term, and this fact will give lopsidedness in an age characterized by heavy polarizaiton, where it is more necessary to stress the spirit of community as human beings and as Danes. This must be done indirectly in the work with Danish history and culture. These areas are neglected in the school today.

As the most important factor should be stressed that it cannot be the direct task of the school to 'socialize' the pupils. It is correct that 'the school cannot at all avoid having an educative effect' (section 20), but this effect is and must be *indirect*, as it springs from the subject-matter and the subject the pupils and the teachers work on. Involvement and respect of the subject-matter to be discussed is in itself educative and promotes the community spirit, and at the same time it gives the teacher respect of what Professor Løgstrup calls 'the untouchable zone' of the young people. If 'the socialization' on the other hand is to function as the independent task of the school alongside the teaching, it can hardly avoid becoming meddling in attitudes which does not respect the independence of the pupil and the home.

32. *Finn Thorgrimson, Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen, Jørgen Jensen, Kirsten Kjersgaard, Finn Brandt-Pedersen, Erik Jørgen Hansen, Else Marie Sejer Larsen and Gunhild Nissen* find that that it is too square to say that the next generation must have a positive attitude to penal norms and rules implanted at an early age. This does not imply that the educational system should teach the pupils to *break* such rules and norms, but a certain amount of critical attitude is required.

By way of example may be mentioned that in all probability free abortion would not have been legal today if there had been no criticism at a time when abortion was normally a criminal offence.

Neither do we find it desirable that the next generation is educated to have a positive attitude to the difference in the meting out of punishment for white-collar crime and theft.

On the other hand we consider it to be desirable that positive attitudes to basic democratic principles in our society are implanted in the pupils. But this does in fact also imply the right and the possibility of criticizing penal legislation and the criminal courts.

Chapter IX

A More Equality-oriented Educational Policy

A. Society Characterized by Inequalities

1. One of the fundamental aims of the educational policy is to obtain a greather equality or put in another way to *level and reduce the large imbalances and inequalities present in an education.*

One of the reasons why this may seem to be an almost insoluble problem is that in so many respects the society is characterized by profound inequalities and contrasts between classes and groups, etc. This must necessarily be reflected in the educational structure of the society. Though there has been much talk over the years of creating less inequality, and even though many and also big steps have been taken in that direction there is still a far way to go.

For example it is still a fact that a *higher education is typically a starting point for the individual of getting a better economic position in society, a better social position, better possibilities of utilizing cultural offers and better possibilities of getting influence and power in the economic and community life.*

The inequalities in the society cannot be abolished through educational political reforms, and it is hardly possible to establish a much lower level of inequality in the educational system than in the society. On the other hand, it is necessary that the *general efforts of diminishing the inequalities in the society must have their counterpart in an equality-oriented educational policy.* At any rate educational system should not come staggering up.

The present educational system gives *vocational qualifications* of a very different degree of difficulty, a very varied vocational scope and value. Each individual's position and pay in the working life may often be determined more by educational status than by personal qualifications. At the same time the system is organized so that there is a rather *close connection between educational level in terms of vocational qualifications and educational level with a view to general education and personal development.* This interconnection is especially conspicuous as regards the very short vocational courses that are often without general elements.

Furthermore, as is mentioned in chapter IV, there is a close connection between educational level on one hand and the social recruitment to the courses of education on the other.

These various aspects of the inequality are closely interrelated and all derived from the disparity in the economic and social structure in society as a whole.

Much progress for the general equality efforts has been made in particular at the *legal level* where a number of previous provisions of a discriminating nature are completely or almost abolished. Equality before the law, equality of the sexes, equal access to public positions, equal franchise, equality between town and country, equal access to all types of education, etc. are all advances that have been achieved often through hard political struggles.

But crucial *real inequalities* still exist. They are present on every place of work, in the distribution of incomes and wealth, and they can be found in differences in way of life, language and attitudes.

All these inequalities are handed down from generation to generation through a number of mechanisms. *Inheritance of wealth* is only one Another is the *social heritage* whereby parents' (and grandparents') financial, social and cultural status is transferred to the next generation by virtue of the immediate influences from parents to children and through the social influences from environment and acquainstances in childhood and adolescence. To this comes a third mechanism, viz. the imbalances of *the socializing and qualifying effect of the educational system* which further consolidates existing social positions for the various families and strata in the population.

The strong economic expansion in the western societies and the changes connected with it on the labour market and the structures within trade and industry have created good possibilities of levelling the economic inequalities, because it could take place in a manner so that *everyone* got better conditions of life. As a matter of fact the standard of life was raised considerably for the lowest income brackets, but the well-to-do have had a similar increase so the differences still exist, though somewhat diminished, inter alia through social, health and fiscal policy.

Concurrently there has been much social mobility across typical class barriers. There has especially been a sharp decline in the number of the self-employed (farmers, retailers, etc.) and a rapid increase of 'the new middle-class', that is salaried workers and civil servants as well as of a new type of managers in the trades and industries.

This development has characterized the school and the vocationaloriented education and has been an evident interplay in this respect. If the educational system had not kept pace industrialization with its profound changes in the structure of trade and industry and the huge increases i productivity would not have been possible.

But we have still very large groups in the population with a low social status, with scant educational background and with not very qualified and often uninteresting, in some cases fatiguing work.

2. Is it possible to change in a greater degree the traditional picture of inequalities in the educational system?

We do not believe that the educational policy can realize equality-orientated aims which are out of step with the development in the society and the result of political efforts in other fields. But we consider it possible to proceed. We believe that an educational policy aiming at removing or diminishing the existing inequalities will give good results over a period of 15 to 20 years, which is our time limit. But one condition of success in that the educational policy co-operates with the other efforts of creating more equality and is adapted to the concrete economic and social possibilities.

In the following it is attempted to define conditions and possibilities of such a more equality-oriented educational policy.

B. Various Types of Equalities

3. Many discussions on equality – also on equality in education – are characterized by the fact that each person has his own idea of what more equality means. We will therefore begin by giving a short definition of a number of various meanings of the term equality.

4. *Formal equality*. The most important problems in Denmark of today are no longer attached to the formal equality, the *legat* equality in the educational

system. It is principle generally accepted that everyone have the *same access* to any education irrespective of race, sex, descent, social class, address, wealth, income, etc., and it is our opinion that it is not necessary to make any proposals in this respect. Admittedly, in practice there may be some discussion about concrete issues, for example regarding distribution of the state educational aid or regarding the laying down of numerus clausus to the various courses of education. This is especially true where the criteria on admission are not convincingly relevant in relation to the course in question. However, this must be discussed in the concrete situation and not merely in terms of principle.

5. *Real equality*. Most interest is decidedly attached to the *real possibilities* of getting the same education. As a matter of fact they differ widely, especially for young people from different social environments.

The concept real equality is, however, not so simple and unambiguous as it may sound. It can be interpreted in several ways which must be illuminated before it is considered what may be done to reduce the inequalities.

6. The demand for real equality is often seen as something that entails *uniformity*. For the sake of good order we will emphasize that it, is not at all that which we have in mind. We realized that very extensive efforts towards equality may conflict with wisches for freedom of maintaining individual characteristics.

7. On the other hand it makes good sense to interpret the demand for real equality in the direction that everyone (young people) *must have the same possibility of utilizing the current educational opportunity to the extent he or she wishes*.

That the real possibilities in this sense are not the same for everyones is due to the *financial burdens* connected with education, in particular in respect of long courses of further education. This makes topical the question of state educational aid.

The other and perhaps bigger obstacle to utilizing the present offers is as has just been mentioned the *social heritage*. It highlights a number of questions both as regards the structure and content of the educational system and as regards counteracting the social sorting process from the early school years. It is a question of making the system broader so that the instruction may take as its starting point the qualifications of the individual pupils as well as compensatory education. By compensatory education we understand in particular special education or support to pupils with concrete difficulties. Put in another way it means that the resources are not allocated so as to give each pupil the same share, but so that most resources are used on the pupils who have the preatest need.

8. A more extreme interpretation of the concept real equality is that all citizens muts *be entitled to the same amount of education*. The term *'resource equality'* is now and then applied to this concept. The consideration is that education is a free good which society provides for the citizens, so everyone must be entitled to his equal share of it. If not in the young years then he or she must be entitled to retrieve the situation later on, for example in the form of a preferential right of adult education.

Roughly put this leads in practice to a situation where each individual gets an 'educational account' on which he or she draws until the 'account' has been used up.

9. Finally, one could go one step further and say: real educational equality is not only a matter of a specific number of school years or a matter of an equal share

of the educational resources of the society, the decisive thing is the result, that is to say that everyone reaches the same educational status (but not necessarily with the same educational content). Not until this has been attained is it possible to talk about full equality in society.

To reach such a *equality of results* or *consistent equality* as it is also called may necessitate that 'the weak' receives more education than 'the strong' so as so bring them up to the same level of education. In the primary and lower secondary school much work is done in this direction, and it will also make good sense on other levels to work with a compensatory education, quite obviously in relation to those having a biological handicap, where the aim is to reach a common minimum.

As a hypothesis it may be fruitful to consider what full implementation of consistent equality would require from the educational system, and what it would mean to the development in our society. The majority of CCE is of the opinion, however, that consisent equality is more an *ideal demand* than a realistic aim for the overall educational system.

10. Finally, the policy of equality has a very real connection with the impact on social attitudes entailed by the instruction. Are pupils *brought up to equality?* Do young people learn to consider and treat other human beings as having equal rights and dignity?

This demand for equality highlights both the question of topics and content in the instruction and of method of work and social forms in the school, etc.

C. Obstacles to Equality

11. The great difficulty in carrying out a more equality-oriented educational policy stems from several fundamental reasons. It is important to realize these limits to equality.

12. The demands from industry on the qualifications of the working force are mentioned in chapter IV as one of the decisive factors. This includes several elements of different importance to the considerations regarding the future.

We presume that it falls outside the scope of the educational policy to make proposals as to how the structure of production and places of work, etc. are to be organized in future. But the educational policy cannot right away accept as its starting point that participation in the working and business life is to continue along the same lines as before with the wellknown distribution of roles and work.

The reform proposals we make here are not directed to the conditions on the labour market in the 1970s, but in the 1990s, and our considerations must therefore allow for the changes that may take place on the labour market.

Thus, it is natural to call attention to the fact that the organization of some places of work and the distribution of jobs are also conditioned by the present or previous educational structure. Further, it is reasonable to point out that many of the qualification requirements made in private as well as public job specifications only partly stem from the consideration of efficiency. Apart from those, the existing terms of ownership and power as well as the established traditions in the working life have their effect in this respect. The latter manifest themselves for example in the many demarcations between the trades and functional division between the various levels on the labour market.

It would be optimistic to expect a quick breaking of these often rigid patterns which to some extent are part of a social protection system also for the strong groups in the labour market. But it must be possible to carry out changes in the longer term, and this is one of the fields where it is conceivable that changes in the educational system will affect trade and industry in the sense that broader qualifications result in a breaking down of traditional demarcations.

13. A similar, but not identical conflict between equality and efficiency is due to extensive distribution of work and specialization in the production. *The specialization* ensures great routine and speed, but at the expense of the individual worker's development and at the expense of equality; the highly simplified routines are usually poorly paid and connected with low social status. This is one of the big problems of the residual group.

Only few investigations and little experience are available on other forms of co-operation and distribution of work in the complicated production processes that require participation of many people; therefore it is difficult to decide how much substance there is in the wide-spread assumption that the present forms of work distribution are necessary as a prerequisite of the high efficiency on which the standard of living of the industrialized countries is based.

Another version of the same assumption is that for efficiency reasons it is quite sufficient that a small part of the working force has a long education and a somewhat larger group a good vocational training, while the rest does not have to know much. Such an imbalanced educational distribution should, at is argued, be sufficient to ensure a continued growth in our production and thus the basis for higher wages and salaries as well as social benefits, etc. also for those with a short education. As a historic description there may some truth in it, but it cannot serve as a reason for neglecting the problems of the poorly educated.

14. Increased educational equality may, however, lead to a conflict at an entirely different level, viz. *as regards wages and salaries*. If *all* groups on the labour market received a good vocational education and as a consequence of this also were to have more qualified (higher status) work the present differences in wages and salaries on the labour market would probably be reduced. This might lead to a comparatively slower improvement in the real wages and salaries of the present groups having a good education and relatively high incomes.

15. Problems of another kind arise in connection with the *individuals' different biological equipment*. Whether these differences are inhereted or conditioned by accidents and diseases or otherwise derived from the environment in the years of growth are actually not decisive in this connection. *The differences are real,* and for some persons it would be a great strain if they were to acquire for example skills of a high degree of difficulty – physical as well as intellectual skills. This results in conclusions both towards more compensatory education and towards the necessity of accepting certain differences in the educational result.

16. We must also discuss the obstacles to an equality-oriented educational policy that stem from clashes between *demands for equality and demands for freedom.*

Such a situation may for example occur where specific industries (such as agriculture and shipping) or groups in the population (locally for example) wish to retain special educational traditions and forms, and where the want freedom to determine themselves how to organize the parts concerned of the educational system of the country.

The conflict arises also when *individuals* wish to retain their freedom to choose not only what education, but also how much education they want. This conflict crops up inter alia in the debate on the extent of the compulsory education.

The demand for freedom speaks in favour of attempting to solve the problems of inequality through a flexible educational system where the educational offers are made as attractive as possible.

17. This conflict between local and personal self-determination on one hand and on the other a owerall aim for equality manifests itself in a very direct manner where individuals and groups have deviating attitudes. It may both be about the equality ideals themselves and about ethical, religious and political attitudes, cf. chapter VIII.

In this respect a political consideration may be necessary whether extremely deviating attitudes are compatible with the common sum of concepts which are fundamental for the Danish democratic society.

18. Great emphasis must finally be attached to the obstacle to equality that *more equality in education may become expensive*. Increased equality can only be brought about by giving more education to many without simultaneously giving other less. A list of priorities and a stepwise implementation of the equality-promoting reforms are therefore necessary. The reason for effecting these reforms is not primarily that they increase efficiency in our production and promote economic growth. The reason is that they are important for the individual student and of general importance for the democratic development in our society.

19. No matter how important the demand for equality is, it cannot have absolute dominance in the educational policy. It must be balanced against other values and considerations – a balancing which like others must be seen in the light of the whole development which society undergoes.

D. Main Lines in an Equality Policy

20. As a starting point for the planning of a more equality-oriented educational policy we think that our efforts should especially be concentrated on the settling of the following three questions

I) How far can we get towards more equality in respect of vocational and other *qualifications* and what means can be used in this field?

II) How far can we get towards *more equal social recruitment* to the various levels of education and thereby positions in production and society, and what means does this require?

III) How far is it possible to get in respect of creating more equality-oriented attitudes through education, and what means are at disposal?

There are different views of the weight to be laid on these three points in the equality policy. However, there is a close connection between that which is possible in each of the three respects.

If the educational offers continue to be very imbalanced – if the educational pyramid remains unequal and tapered – we would not get closer to equality by concentrating our efforts on neutralizing the effects of the social heritage. The inequalities may perhaps be distributed in a somewhat different way in the population, but they will still be present.

On the other hand, if we are to succeed in making the educational pyramid very butt-ended and the job structure far more even, then the demand for combatting directly the social heritage would decrease considerably, and up-bringing to equality would fit naturally into the entire social system.

We do not believe, however, that there is any easy way in any of these respects, but that a gradual advance towards more equality must take place by working in all three fields simultaneously.

(I) More Equal Qualifications

21. As mentioned it may be made an ideal demand that through education everyone should in principle end up have the same *basis* for their life. One might go so far as to say that no matter whether people later on got different jobs and positions in the working life and community life they should all have the same staus in educational respect.

Something like that is evidently unrealistic solely for the reason that it would be immensely expensive. If such a consistent educational equality were to be carried through it would in a highly developed industrialized society have to be done at an advanced educational level for everybody. It would therefore be a waste of educational resources because the undertaking could not find any application for such qualifications, at any rate not with the commercial and industrial structure which we can visualize in a foresseeable future.

a) The realistic thing will first and foremost be to continue the efforts made up to now of raising the *lower limit of the minimum of education that everyone should receive*. Expansion of the instruction in the primary and lower secondary school from 7 to 9 and 10 years was an important step towards this. It is necessary to go further, and it must be done in respect of the vocational qualifications and in respect of the sides of education that are of importance for the three other lives.

In chapter X we will put forward detailed proposals for this – it concerns partly the primary and lower secondary school and to a marked extent youth education, that is to say the 10th to the 13th school years, as well as adult education.

22. A continuation of such a policy will certainly in the longer term affect the labour market and the organization of the places of work. That which primarily is important in this field is the question of what will happen to the many highly specialized and simplified functions in the working life that today play an important role in the production, and which are attended to by those having a short education. These jobs must in some manner be abolished or changed so that they become more appealing to workers having a better educational background.

It is difficult to decide whether this is in harmony with the tendencies that already manifest themselves in the vocational development. It is conspicuous that machinery and automatization, etc. have made a number of previous jobs superfluous, including most of the rough and hard manuel work, but also a number of other jobs that were previously filled with unskilled labour, have lost ground, for example a number of service jobs, such as domestic service and messenger service. The industrialization has as the same time created a number of new jobs which typically have required *specific* qualifications of some type and also a relatively high level of *general* vocational qualifications. On the other hand, there have been created both very one-sided and strenous jobs, such as work at assembly lines in many industries. Work at punched card machines and at cash registers in supermarkets are other examples of very stereotyped and enervating work.

In case of tendencies pointing towards the simplification of more and more jobs so that, they become working processes with a quite trite content or rather: should it occur that the number of highly specialized and repetitive jobs *does not decrease fast enough* then in our opinion the consequences must be the reaction that *this is not acceptable*. In that event it will be necessary to interfere to ensure that the production and places of work are organized in such a way that they will offer tolerable working conditions.

The objection that there are actually people who are satisfied with the quite monotonous routine work may be based on some correct observations – but it cannot form the basis for a general educational and working environment policy.

23. b) The next thing that can be done – and concurrently with the effort of raising the lower limit – is to broaden *the qualification*. This has already been mentioned in chapter VIII and will be discussed again in chapter X; suffice it therefore to say here that we do not necessarily think of *routine* in a wider field of working processes and vocational situations, but of *knowledge of and general qualifications* for acquiring such a routine in new fields without having to take a new formalized courses of education.

24. c) The third point is to *break the previously mentioned interconnection between courses qualifying for a vocation and general education*. The important aspect in this field is to *raise the lower limit of the general qualifications which are important for all four lives* in the present narrowly vocational courses of education.

The CCE finds that it is necessary to remove or narrow considerably the distance between the courses preparing for a vocation and those preparing for further education. This must take place both by revising the education preparing for a course of further education (upper secondary schools) and especially by expanding the general elements in the too one-sided short vocational courses. This is something that not only concerns post compulsory education, it must also be included in the considerations regarding reforms in the primary and lower secondary school, cf. chapter X.

25. If we succeed in implementing reforms in the course of for example the next 10 years in accordance with the quality-oriented aim mentioned in (a), (b) and (c) then the effect will be that *the problem of the residual group will be solved by and large for the new generations of young people*.

It is true that in a certain sense there will always be residual groups, understood as groups falling behind in relation to others. And there will still be some who get a far better education than the majority particularly through further education.

Thus, there will still be a need for adult education or *recurrent* education for all those who want to supplement their youth education later on. There will especially be big problems for the *present residual group*, that is to say all those who have already left the primary and lower secondary school and have entered the labour market without having any specific vocational education. *For the next 30 to 40 years there will still be some in this residual group*, and this means that it will be necessary to do something for these people from this group who want a supplementary education. This must be done through *adult education*.

As these year groups with a poor educational background get a better education through adult education or die out, the requirements on adult education will change.

26. We cannot leave this theme without mentioning the specific problems we are facing in respect of the need for special education for the *weakest groups, in particular the handicapped* with biological defects (inherited or acquired through disease, malnutrition, accidents, etc.), and *social losers*, etc.

Much experience shows that purposeful instruction and education may mitigate the consequences of most of handicaps. We therefore find that *everybody* irrespective of the nature or extent of the handicap should be entitled to receive instruction and education.

Many of the handicapped persons can be integrated in the normal educational system when the *necessary support* is given. A small group will require special schools, boarding schools and other institutions. In this field an early effort in respect of education is an alternative to a lifelong chain of social-political assistance. In all circumstances it is a prerequisite that an *interplay* is established between educational and social policy within the handicap-field.

(II) More Equal Social Recruitment

27. As stated above, it is not realistic to expect that the fundamental economic inequalities and the inequalities relating to jobs can be removed within the time limit of U-90. Today we do not know any society where such inequalities are not present, though in different degrees. It seems reasonable, however, to expect that a number of these inequalities will gradually diminish. And it is necessary to concentrate more efforts on breaking the *social heritage* and achieve a more equal recruitment to the various stages of education. The strong reduction of the residual group brought about during the last two generations shows that there are possibilities of improving the situation here.

28. As regards the more *tangible barrier* to equal recruitment, which is due to the imbalanced possibilities of *coping with the costs* of going through the longer and long courses of further education, *an expansion of the state educational aid is an indispensable means.*

The principal problem in this connection is that it costs much money if the financially weak groups are to benefit from this.

Taking everything into consideration the CCE finds it *necessary that a long-term plan for expansion of the state educational support is established* so that education beyond the compulsory school years does not involve huge financial burdens for anyone. Such an increase of the educational aid must in the present situation be evaluated in connection with the unemployment and the large expenses for unemployment benefits.

We do not believe, however, that an increased educational support per se is sufficient to change the social recruitment pattern. An increased educational support will remove a single barrier, but not the social barriers, and the improved educational aid cannot achieve more than putting everybody on an equal footing. If the present social recruitment pattern is to be broken efforts must simultaneously be made in a number of other fields.

29. The structural reforms in the school which have been carried out in the past 10–15 years have actually entailed a remarkable improvement for the equality efforts in a number of respects.

The increase in compulsory school years from 7 to 9 years has already been mentioned as a step which is of interest also seen from an equality point of view.

The principle of the comprehensive school with a possibility of streaming in certain subjects in the 8th and 9th school years is clearly based on the equality principle. At the same time a number of institutional barriers to making boys and girls equal have been abolished, and also the geographical equalization has made good progress.

Furthermore, it has been decided to try to *integrate* as big groups of *handicapped persons* as possible in the instruction of the normal classes.

Also the principles of the primary and lower secondary school reform consernıng the content and methods of work in these schools have an aim clearly directed to equality.

Finally, the whole expansion, which has been going on since 1960 with a number of new opportunities for the 16–18-year-olds, has clearly a narrowing effect on the residual group.

In chapter X we will make proposals for continuing these efforts at all levels and in all directions, beginning with an expansion of the pre-school classes and ending with an increased offer of adult education. The central link of this is an extensive expansion of the youth education so that all 16–18-year olds may receive an education which either qualifies for a vocation or entitles the pupil to continue with a course of further education. All youth education must be broad and prepare for all four lives, and must be organized so as appeal to all groups of young people, that is to say the theoretical disciplines must not dominate.

30. This development process is time-consuming. Some fear that it will progress too slowly, and find that more radical steps must be taken to ensure the socially equal access to the courses of education through direct numerus clausus. A proposal to this effect is that as long as we have a very imbalanced recruitment to education the *social recruitment should be organized so that it reflects the relative size of the social groups at each educational level*. Thus, there should be an equal intake of unskilled, skilled, university graduates, etc., who come from social group V and correspondingly for other social groups.

The consequence in practice of this would, in the early years until youth education is fully expanded, be that *social quotas* were applied to those who were to be enrolled in the upper secondary school and in the basic vocational training courses, etc. In a later phase when the youth education was expanded to a sufficient extent, presumably in the 1990s, the social quotas would especially be important in respect of the enrolment into further and adult education.

The majority in the CCE rejects to regulate in such a direct manner the intake of students to the various courses of education. It is true that investigations are available illuminating the present imbalanced recruitment, but there are no considerations let alone research, concerning the problems which especially the individual pupils and families would face if such a regulation is carried out. To this should be added that a changed recruitment must presuppose that in total there was a surplus of applicants and in particular that there was a sufficient number of applicants from the lower social groups. The problem is not solved merely by excluding some from the higher social groups from the education they want to take.

We do not refuse that social considerations and considerations of other factors of inequality (sex, age, residence, etc.) should be taken when the criteria are chosen which it might be necessary to use in a tight numerus clausus for example in respect of the courses of further education.

Special problems prop up for *adult education*, and we find that special schemes may be necessary in the strong expansion of the offers in this field, which we consider desirable, so that specific offers are reserved for the present residual groups for whom it will then be possible to supplement their educational background. This, too, is discussed in greater detail in chapter X, E.

There is no easy and simple short-cut of breaking the social heritage. The majority of the members of the CCE is of the opinion that the best way of doing this is to work out an overall long-term strategy that considers all aspects, and which is co-ordinated with other efforts of abolishing inequalities in society, especially those relating to the economic aspect. Such a strategy must especially be concentrated on three important levels:

Firstly, the early stages in the educational system, approximately at the age when the children begin in the primary school.

Secondly, at the transition from the lower secondary school to post compulsory education, where in particular young people from the lower social groups are subjected to the risk of receiving an inadequate education.

Thirdly, the adult education must play an important role here, also because it may serve the purpose of weakening the social heritage *in respect of the parents* for example by making the parents understand the importance of a better education and understand the problems and the areas of conflict between the two generations inherent therein.

Finally, it is also an important part of the social equalization that the content of the courses of education become more equality-oriented.

(III) More Equality Oriented Attitudes

31. While more equal qualifications are something comparetively tangible it is difficult to define precisely what is meant by an *equality-oriented content* in education. Put negatively, it is perhaps relatively evident that the traditional teaching matter and a number of behavioural patterns in the school *conseal remnants of previous periods' view on human beings and culture which was greatly characterized by acceptance* of sex and class differences national differences, race differences, difference between rich and poor, wise and stupid, etc.

It is *important that the teaching frees itself from all these remnants*, and that the courses of education are organized so that the pupils get an *equality-oriented attitude* and *capability of realizing an equality-oriented behavioural pattern towards others*. This concerns not only the direct instruction in social studies, including in particular contemporary studies. Indirectly the instruction in all subjects has repercussions on the pupils attitudes to equality and class differences.

Social forms and methods of work in the school are very crucial in this respect.

A control of the education on the basis of this means new and constant balancing of requirements as regards teaching matter, teaching aids, forms of examinations and tests, etc. and concerning of the teachers' qualifications and the structure of curricula.

We do not find that it is our task in U-90 to make more concrete proposals covering the whole of this field. However, we consider it very important the *politicians establish that equality-orientation is a central aim* that must be respected from the first to the last stage in the educational system.

32. *Helge Larsen, Erik Tøttrup, Knud Øllgaard and K. Thule Hansen* fully approve of the description and aim of the formal and real equality as well as the evaluation of consistent equality as a non-realistic aim for the overall educational system. We want in particular to point out that the consistent equality or result equality contains elements that will lead to a situation which will differ widely from equality. Consistent equality aims at equality between individuals being of a different character where precisely the difference should be respected and evaluated equally. No matter where the average of the result equality is struck the consequence will be a limitation of the individual's right to be himself and develop his own capabilities and potential. The equality-oriented education has its valuable aim in respect of the equal value of human beings and thus it becomes 'individual-oriented', while consistent equality in its abstract collective ideal leads to uniformity.

33. *Knud Øllgaard* wishes to add that he finds it necessary to take a clear stand on the conflict between demands for equality and demands for freedom mentioned under points 16 and 17. The conflict between these demands is described correctly as a possibility for example as 'when individual persons wish to decide themselves not only what education, but also how much education they want. This conflict arises for example in the debate on the extent of compulsory education'. Or the conflict may: 'occur where specific industries (such as agriculture and shipping) or groups in the population (locally for example) wish to retain their freedom to decide themselves how to organize the parts in question of the educational system of the country'.

I find that there are clear tendencies and wishes in the population towards increased local and personal influence on the educational system, also if this means considerable, local disparity.

I therefore find the text too vague where it says: 'The demand for freedom speaks in favour of trying to solve the problems of inequality by making the educational system flexible, where the educational offers have such an appealing form and quality that they will be sought and utilized voluntarily'.

In my opinion the demand for freedom is the most important aspect, and it is therefore absolutely necessary to give the educational offers such a quality and form that they will be sought and utilized voluntarily and on a personal and local responsibility.

In this connection I want to dissociate myself from a side of the equality concept that *may* be read into a sentence like (point 17): 'In this field a political consideration may be necessary whether extremely deviating attitudes are compatible at all with the common sum of ideas that are fundamental in the Danish democratic society'. This sentence shows that these equality ideas *may* mean a serious attack on the personal freedom and independence in favour of a common sum of ideas.

If this formulation conseals a notion of the equality concept that has as its ideal (paragraph 21) 'that everyone would in principle have the same final basis for their lives through education'. That which elsewhere is called result equality or consistent equality is here an abstraction which wants to ignore the fact that we are dealing with human beings with all the differences in wishes and interests that belong to human life.

Owing to the fact that the U-90 report does not dissociate itself from this distorted equality concept the whole description get a centralistic touch that is at variance with all good traditions of freedom in Danish school policy. Thus, one effect of this is to make the description an unreasonable attack on the specific character of the individual, the parent generation and the local communities instead of utilizing these specific characters in a co-operation. *The personal freedom of the individual to be himself is urged backwards in favour of a collective concept of freedom which may very easily turn out to aggravate the differences in the population between individuals and between groups.*

True equality resides precisely and expressyl in the full respect of the originally given, unpredictable difference. And it is this form of equality that should be crucial in respect of up-bringing, instruction and education

Accordingly, an equality-oriented education becomes an individual-oriented education and not its contrast; the aim must be that each individual gets equal opportunities and help from society to develop precisely that which each individual wants to and is capable of, in other words to develop himself and not average ideal outside himself.

'The equal opportunities and help' must be defined not as first and foremost a question of the order of the state educational aid, but rather of the quality of the educational opportunities in the widest sense.

34. *Knud Øllgaard and Erik Tøttrup* do not find that the principle of equality should occupy such a dominating position as indicated by the U-90 report. Alongside the regard for equality other factors should also be taken into consideration so that a reasonable balance is reached.

The majority in the CCE has several times pointed out that the targets of equality set by the majority in the fields of education are inextricably bound up with an expected equality-oriented development in society as a whole. And the educational sector must on no account lag behind in this development.

Using this as a basis it is in a sense stressed – as is also expressly stated in the introduction – that the U-90 report is an *introduction to a debate* based on a specifically defined political basis of values.

However, the CCE appeals to a very wide circle of readers in this report: the Government, the Folketing, the Press, educational institutions – and the general public. A single model based on a specific basis of values is in our opinion an imperfect basis for a debate.

We find it necessary to outline a few other fundamental aims of the educational system than equality; we would, however, like to stress that the ideal of equality is so closely bound up with our culture that few people would think that it should not be included – also as something essential.

However, we would like to add that there is some uncertainty as to the definition of the concept of equality. The U-90 describes several degrees of equality, and in the general debate the definitions are even more varied.

Consequently we would like to stress that it is our opinion that equality – understood as equal possibilities of utilizing the educational opportunities of society, including that those who are badly off are given extra support – is an aim to be strived for.

In the current debate some people will sometimes want to have equality to be almost tantamount to uniformity, as they prefer that ideally everybody should have the same knowledge to a very wide extent; this point of view is in particular encountered in politically extremist groups. We find that the result would be that dissimilar interest and dissimilar abilities would be pressed into a common education to a far wider extent than motivation could bear. We find it to be necessary that the individual young people are given very wide opportunities of choosing their own further education after the completion of primary and lower secondary education – which provides the common basis.

But as has been mentioned above, there are other considerations – other aims – which should not be ignored. The educational system is so extensive and many-sided that it is not possible to design it on the basis of one single consideration. Instead interaction is required.

In some sections of the U-90 report it is stated that the development of *the competence* of the individual also deserves attention. The majority has, however, not thied to point out how allowance can be made for this consideration.

Neither has the majority clarified the extent to which an educational system that is consistently trying to create equality must accept as one of the 'costs' that the more energetic and the more able will get reduced possibilities of development. It is our opinion that the face of the economic prospects of Denmark, we will have to be extraordinarily attentive to this problem.

An aspect of this is how we ensure that there is a connection between what is taking place in the educational institutions and the jobs that are to be carried out on the basis of the acquired qualifications. This problem of steering requires a careful weighing of the necessary interaction between the labour market (the organizations in the labour market) and the educational institutions. The majority attaches prime importance to the development of the autonomy of the institutions, but this appears to be too narrow a point of view if we would like to have courses of education with a reasonable or necessary specialized content.

The issue is particularly urgent in the light of the rate of unemployment we have to struggle with – at least in the current situation. Society will to an unreasonable extent run into problems of *youth unemployment* if we do not ensure that allowance is made for the competence of the individual (vocational qualification). In connection with the first job after the completion of a course of vocational training this is particularly the basis which will make it possible for the young persons to be reasonably introduced to the labour market, and which is therefore in many cases decisive of the future of the young person.

It would also be reasonable to consider whether we could design our educational system in such a way that it would be possible to draw *adult persons without a job* into it, thus also improving their qualifications and offering them a less frustrating situation than only being jobless. The Folketing and the Government are considering this question and have introduced some short-term initiatives, but it would be reasonable if the CCE could present plans pointing to ways of making education a labour market political instrument to be used in periods characterized by a high rate of unemployment.

For several years it has been discussed in various groups how *'lifelong education'* or *'recurrent education'* could best be organized. These terms are not the best, but what is aimed at is whether it is possible to design the educational system in such a way that at the same time as allowance is made for other aims, the citizens will be offered an educational service all the way through life, so that they will be able to get the education they need at any time they want to, primarily on their jobs, but also in their leisure time. In this country we have a wide range of opportunities meeting this demand, but it would probably be worth considering whether it would be possible for the CCE to examine all aspects of the educational sector on the basis of this viewpoint centered on the individual to see whether adjustments are required. It is in no way a foregone conclusion that using the lines of demarcation between the institutions and the interaction between them as a point of departure will lead to the same result. It will perhaps be necessary to attach more importance to preparing the courses of vocational training within the individual fields in structures comprising young people as well as adults, rather than aiming very much at an extensive contact with parallel educational fields, perhaps with an ensuing integration.

It is quite another problem that apparently the majority finds that the development over the next few years should be based on the expansion of the institutions, and that to a very large extent. It is probable that there will be a certain amount of growth, but it would be worth considering whether the process of learning in the widest sense could be removed to some extent from the rigid framework of the institutions, which at some time or other will turn out to be so difficult to change that we will have to accept to waste of resources and an inexpedient conservatism.

An aspect of the expansion of the institutions which must be assumed to be political interest to a wide range of people is the question: how far are the public authorities to extend the opportunities of service in the fields which in the U-90 report are termed *leisure life, family life, and community life?* It is probably necessary that the educational system should take these aspects of life into consideration, one of the reasons being that the homes already have difficulties in managing these aspects. Hovewer, it must be assumed to be a problem with a considerable scope whether the politicians want to steer the trends in society in Denmark in such a way that more responsibility is thrown on the homes – and that the homes are given financial possibilities and other possibilities to undertake this responsibility. It is also a question whether the present development should be continued; in this development society provides increasing possibilities of free services, and this holds the danger that the responsibility of the homes may be weakened, and that the services may become so extensive that large groups of the population will feel that they are in tutelage. To say that all you have to do is to refrain from making use of these opportunities can hardly be called a satisfactory solution to the problem. Through the taxes the individual citizen will pay for all the services provided by society (they are of course free of charge), and if such services are available they will also be used to a wide extent, even though a number of people would like to see another policy of distribution.

It will probably also be of political interest how the regard for equality can be balanced with *the responsibility of the individual citizen for choosing and completing his education.* The U-90 report points out that both young people and adults from socially disadvantaged homes are to have considerably better opportunities in the educational system than before. Some of these proposals may probably win general acceptance, but it is our opinion that there will be a political question left: how much can society help those who have only received scant education and those who do not have much motivation, if we are to avoid taking their personal responsibility – and thus their personal freedom – away from them? In other words, do we not risk taking away the required initiative from the individual?

How far are we to follow the principle of equality over and above the formal equal access to all courses of study? To how far an extent is society to support the individual financially and in other ways? Do we want support which implies full support? Or help to help oneself? At the request of the Minister of Education the CCE will take up the question of financing in the near future. – But a conflict remains, namely on the one hand equal access, strongly backed by society, and on the other hand equal access with less support offering opportunities to the individual, but which does not remove the responsibility of contributing on one's own? The latter aspect will lead to a certain amount of inequality, namely that society will accept that those who make use of their energy and abilities so a very high degree will get an education that is different from the one the less active get. We find such inequality to be necessary as a basis for the development of society.

It may very well be that some of the above-mentioned considerations may clash with one another. It must however be the task to balance the various viewpoints and considerations.

If the U-90 report was to serve as an expedient introduction to a debate, it ought to present other models with other aims. The report as it is today is imperfect, because it is characterized too much by ideas based on a regard for consistency from one single political point of departure, namely equality.

Chapter X

Proposals for Reforms Concerning the Content, Methods, and Structure of the Educational System

1. Chapters *VII, VIII, and IX* give an account of the educational aims and leading principles of the U-90 report. Chapter X contains an introduction to the more concrete suggestions as to how the aims can be realized at the various levels of the educational system.

We are thinking of the content of the courses of education, the methods employed, and the preparation of the teaching as such, as well as the organization and structure.

An account of this can be structured in several ways. One possibility is to make a division according to objectives and related means, so that each set of objectives and means (for instance equality) is followed all the way through the system from kindergarten, via primary school, etc. to university and adult education.

In this report we have chosen the procedure which appears to be most practical, as the task is to formulate regular suggestions for reforms, viz. to classify the account according to the 6 educational stages:

A. Pre-school and the start at school.
B. Primary school.
C. Youth education – staying on at school.
D. Courses of further education.
E. Adult education.
F. Teacher training.

The suggestions based on the chief aims are formulated for each level. The problems concerning the linking together of the various levels are included at relevant stages, as the suggested reforms at any one level must necessarily be assessed in the light of the levels before and after. Exactly this co-ordination of proposals concerning the various levels is central for U-90.

The account also centers on the few important views and proposals, as we presuppose that other reforming efforts in progress which the CCE can support will be continued pari passu with the proposals suggested in this report.

2. It is a universal truth that suggested reforms should also be considered in the light of *the existing possibilities of administration*. It is also well-known fact that *the choice of means of administration* can be related to the concepts of values which stem from an area outside the one which is administered. This applies to a special degree to the educational policy, where it is of independent interest whether the aim is a strong centralization or various forms of decentralization with a relatively high degree of self-government, be it individual institutions controlled by pupils, parents, teachers, or trades, or schemes for geographical areas controlled by parents, teachers, or local authorities.

To a certain degree it tells in favour of decentralization that co-operation between teachers and pupils, and in the primary and lower secondary school furthermore co-operation with parents, on the preparation of the teaching is in itself an important educational factor.

Efforts should be made to secure the implementation throughout the country of suggested reforms which obtain the support of the Government and the parliamentary majority, thus also where there might be a majority against them, and this implementation must be considered to be a fair measure of centralization.

It is necessary to take a position on this conflict between on the one hand the idea of equality and other aims decided upon at the central level, and on the other the wishes for extensive self-government for local units.

Ultimately a maximum amount of decentralization would imply that the CCE might just as well refrain from making proposals for reforms. The U-90 report would then at best be a catalogue of ideas, which perhaps might inspire some people to follow these ideas, but which perhaps would have such a deterrent effect on others that they decided to do otherwise.

The reforms suggested in the following part have been prepared on the assumption that *the Government and the parliamentary majority want to implement them throughout the nation*. From this follows that the proposals must be broadly formulated. The aim is not to abolish the parents' committees and education committees. Neither is it the intention to limit the access to establish and run 'free schools'. We want to keep this free choice for the parents, also because it holds valuable opportunities for inspiration and innovation for the entire educational system. This traditional freedom of choice should also be maintained within adult education with continued open opportunities for private promoters.

The problems of administration will be dealt with collectively in chapter XI.

3. Another important aspect of the planning is *the dimensioning of the different parts of the educational system*. This is closely linked up with the possibilities of administration, especially in relation to the steering of the flow of pupils, but of course also the steering of local plans of expansion and the recruitment of teachers, etc. It is also bound up with the deliberations of the price of the individual courses of education, and the total size of the resources which may be expected to be made avilable. In this respect *the total demand for teachers* in the entire system, thus also the demand for teacher training capacity, is an important factor. These questions are discussed in chapter XII.

4. The following proposals and ideas on reforms are to a particular extent based on the feed-back from the 4 sector councils in their replies to the questions posed by the CCE in the autumn of 1976. The sector councils have however in many respects been less concrete in their proposals or have postponed the preparation of practical proposals for a later stage. Thus there has been an expansion and a concretizing on the basis of the discussions in the CCE. The CCE of course solely responsible for the proposals as they stand.

A. Pre-school and the Start at School

5. As has been mentioned in chapter VII the heavy economic expansion in the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s once more led to social situations where children and especially the very young children got into a tight corner. The result of the economic growth was that both of the parents worked outside the home to an increasing extent. At the same time as the number of *homebound (jobless)*

fathers rose, the number of married women employed outside the home rose from 245,000 in 1960 to approx. 500.000 in 1970, and the trend continued during the following years. It was especially young married women who entered the labour market.

For many of the parents it became necessary to send the small children to day nurseries and kindergartens. As a consequence of this the establishment of childrens' institutions gathered momentum in the course of the 1960s. Whereas kindergartens until then were a kind of social care institutions – indicated in the Act by the requirement that at least 75 per cent of the children should come from 'low-income families', the situation changed with the new *Children and Youth Care Act, 1964* introducing the more neutral term of *day institutions*. The Act stressed that children should primarily be admitted *on social or educational grounds*.

The establishment of *pre-school classes* er OK was only introduced as late as in 1966 in the Primary and Lower Secondary School Act; such classes had until then only existed under an experimental scheme.

The heavy expansion in the late 1960s illustrated in Table 10.1. If society fulfilled to such a high extent the wishes expressed by parents for the establishment of children's institutions, it was due to the regard for the developments in the business sector, but also the importance of educational efforts in the early years of the development of the child.

6. Thus pre-school classes have advanced far more rapidly in the last few years than the kindergartens and now provide a considerably better coverage for the 6-year-olds. The present situation is therefore characterized by a number of inequalities and imbalances as a result of the headlong development over the last decade.

Table 10.1. The total number of places in kindergartens and pre-school classes in the primary and lower secondary schools and in privat schools.

	Kindergartens 1)	Pre-school classes 2)
1960 . . .	27,850	–
1965 . . .	32,400	3,050
1970 . . .	53,250	20,900
1975 . . .	91,850	44,900
1976 . . .	88,650	48,800

1) Cover up to 4 year groups of children.
2) Cover one year group of children in pre-school class (6-year-olds).

Source: Material from the Economical-statistical Division of the Ministry of Education (on pre-school classes). Statistical Year-Book (kindergartens 1960-70). The resource surveys of the National Bureau of Statistics 1975 and 1976 (kindergartens 1975 and 1976).

- Pre-school classes are *free* for all, whereas kindergartens have a number of free places wich are distributed according to rigid criteria as regards parental income.
- Pre-school classes have a 'timetable' comprising *3 lessons a day*, whereas most of the kindergartens offer full-day places.
- Pre-school classes are closed throughout the entire school holiday period, whereas the day institutions are open.
- Pre-school classes are fully subsidized by municipal funds, and the State contributes under the bloc grant scheme, whereas the kindergartens operate with a certain percentage of expenditure to be paid by parents, and with reimbursement from the counties.
- There are considerable *educational differences between* kindergartens, pre-school classes, and the lowest forms of primary school.
- At the local level the pre-school classes are *administered* by the school committee and the school department,

the kindergartens by the social committee and the social department.

To this should be added that the situation differs in various parts of the country. Consequently there is a need for considering the directions of future arrangements in this field. This was one of the reasons for the appointment in 1975 of a *'committee on the co-ordination between the home, pre-school, school, and leisure-time activities for children in the 5 to 8 year bracket'*.

7. The CCE has been able to base its work on the first recommendation of this committee, published in the autumn of 1977. The committee has however in particular dealt with the current situation, and the efforts have been restricted by the obligation to keep its proposals 'within the existing framework (of resources)'.

We do not consider it to be our task to express our opinions in general terms about the conditions of childhood of the pre-school children, and what may be done to improve them. This aspect has now been taken up by the *'Commission for the Very Young Children'* set up by the Government, and by a special 'committee on child culture'. We will therefore concentrate our efforts on the problems of in-schooling.

8. Already today a considerable number of the 6-year-olds attend pre-school classes, and in that way they get used to being together with and to co-operating with children of their own age, and they some impulses which they would normally not get at the age of 6. However, the result is that when actual schooling starts in the 1st form, there is a risk of considerable inequality between the children who have attended pre-school classes and the ones who have not. This inequality can mean that the start at school becomes more difficult for those children who have not attended pre-school classes, and this can lead to unfavourable results for them all the way through their schooling.

(a) In the light of this a majority of the members of the CCE find that it is of great importance that all children from the age of 6 are given the opportunity of familiarizing themselves with the world of the school, and that the need for a place to be after the 3 hours of pre-school class is met, provided that the parents would like to have such a place where the children can be under supervision.

The possibility of gradually familiarizing oneself with the world of the school is best ensured by lowering the age at which compulsory education commences from the present 7 to 6 years. There must be a co-ordination of the developing activities which the 5 to 6-year-olds are to take part in and the specialized content of the teaching appropriate for the 1st form, so that the children will experience a total process of in-schooling.

It must be expected that this proposal will require such extensive preparations that it will take some years to carry the scheme into effect. The planning of the teaching will involve problems as will also the preparation of clear aims for the work, which will make it possible to control the fulfilment of compulsory education in the cases where the parents do not want to enter a child at a school at the age of compulsory education. There will also be a need for the establishment of in-service training, both for head nursery school teachers and for teachers. Thus it cannot be realized until in the second half of the 1980s.

9. (b) However, in our opinion it is necessary in the short term to solve some of the most urgent problems relating to the problems of in-schooling of the children, and their need for stimulating environments.

According to the present scheme the local authorities can establish pre-school classes as they think fit; this scheme should be replaced no later than in 1982 by a scheme charging the local authorities with the task of offering all children free attendance in pre-school classes 3 hours a day in the last pre-school year.

To establish places for children to be outside school hours requires a co-ordination and an expansion of the present opportunities. Today the present kindergartens and recreation centres perform part of this task, and at the same time different types of leisure-time arrangements have been established at many schools.

But these opportunities are unevenly spread over the country, and there is in particular in the case of the very young children a need for a co-ordination, both of the activities and the location of the day institutions and the school in order that there could be a total framework for that part of the life of the child which he has to spend outside the home.

The local authorities should therefore be charged by statute with the task of establishing schemes or subsidizing schemes which on one hand are sufficiently extensive to cover the need for care, and on the other create such total frameworks.

The leisure-time arrangements that are established must be co-ordinated so that – no matter whether they are aimed at kindergartens, recreation centres, or places for the children to be (attached to the school) – they will provide supplementary care and activities under educationally and socially developing conditions, and supervision should be so that the presence of each individual child can be controlled.

Som of the members of the CCE find it furthermore to be necessary that such arrangements are free of charge for the parents.

The future development in housing environments and working hour patterns may perhaps gradually create new possibilities, including in particular improved parent participation in such arrangements, but we do not think that this is something which can be included in the work on the actual planning in the period under discussion.

(c) Both kindergartens and pre-school classes should – just as the care schemes – primarily aim at *providing secure conditions of childhood for the children* in an environment which is stimulating and comprehensively developing.

When the children are in kindergarten and in pre-school classes it is of especial importance that the self-confidence of the childrens is strengthened, and that their ability to interact with other children and with adults is developed. *The development of their speech command* can be furthered through their being together with others in this way, and on the basis of joint experience, and it is important that children who have difficulties in expressing themselves are helped in this way.

(d) To ease the start at school we consider it to be necessary that a closer co-operation than has been the case up to now is established between kindergartens, pre-school classes, and the school. One aspect of this co-operation is that the *common framework for the work* in pre-school classes and the 1st and 2nd school years should be laid down. In practice this would not only mean *co-operation at the various administrative levels,* but also *a close co-operation between the 2 groups of teachers:* pre-school teachers and primary and lower secondary school teachers.

There is no reason to make it a matter of principle that 'children must not learn anything' before they start in the 1st form. As a matter of fact it will be impossible for them not to learn something – for better or worse – through their participation in joint activities in kindergarten, pre-school class, leisure-time schemes, etc. The most important factor is that the children should not be exposed to pressure to reach a specific aim, but that their development is followed closely through an overall assessment of the individual children.

Although we realize that differences in education and in remuneration can create a number of problems, we find it to be natural that primary and lower secondary school teachers can participate in the work in kindergartens as well as in pre-school classes, and that the pre-school teachers, can participate in the work in the primary and lower secondary schools in the lowest forms and follow the children for some time, so that the children will not get a totally new 'circle of acquaintances' at the transition from kindergarten to pre-school, and later on to the 1st form. This is also important out of regard for the contact the pre-school teachers have established with the parents.

We *propose* that the Ministry of Education *sets up a special committee* to prepare proposals for such a co-ordination and for a guideline for the local authorities concerning the utilization of the possibilities of co-ordination.

(e) All the problems in connection with the very young children and the start at school also hold some aspects which are of importance to *adult education: many parents would find it useful to know more about children* and about the interaction between children and adults, and in particular about their own important roles as parents.

10. *Erik Tøttrup and Knud Øllgaard* demur to an expansion of compulsory education to include pre-school classes of the kind recommended by the majority.

We would like to stress that the majority does not recommend an introductory learning in the pre-school classes of the same concrete type as is found in primary and lower secondary classes. According to the majority the aim of the efforts in the pre-school classes should be that the children are familiarized with the world of the school, and that their need for a place to be is met.

However, we find it illogical that the majority goes further than merely recommending that it should be the duty of the local authorities to make the necessary number of pre-school classes available. The future task of the pre-school classes proposed by the majority is described so vaguely that we find it difficult to take a position as to whether it is reasonable to make pre-school classes compulsory. To the extent that the role of the pre-school classes will essentially be to provide a stimulating environment for the children, the purpose can in many cases be fulfiled equally well or better by the parents. Only fresh R-D work can show whether the trend goes towards considerably more concrete learning, and in due course the question of whether it is reasonable to make the teaching compulsory must be answered with due regard to this.

B. Primary and Lower Secondary School

11. When the Folketing passed the 9-point programme in 1969 the political parties seconded a number of fundamental reforming ideas concerning the future of the school.

These principles have partially been followed up by the passing of the Primary and Lower Secondary Act, 1975, but several years of work lie ahead before these principles will be incorporated into the daily life of the school.

We do not consider it to be our task to discuss in this report all the detailed problems following from the attempts at realizing the valuable objectives in the new Primary and Lower Secondary Act. We would like to advocate the following points which represent a further development on the basis of the endeavours in progress:

- to accord a higher priority to- and to strengthen *aestheticcreative activities* and *physical activities* in the theaching,
- to provide a more *practical bias* to the work at school as a supplement to verbal methods and theoretical information,
- accordingly to break the *isolation of the school* as regards the surrounding community – working life, family life, leisure life, and political life,
- to make the content of the teaching more *equality-oriented,* and to make teachers as well as parents more conscious of the socializing functions of the school.
- and finally throug these efforts *to create a connection* between all the activities which take place at school, and to *make them meaningful to the pupils.*

As a prerequisite for these educational reforms it will for instance be necessary to continue the endeavours to *soften the rigid timetable and the boundaries between the subjects which have been prevalent so far.* All of these items will be discussed individually and briefly in the following.

12. A strengthening of the *creative and aesthetic* elements in educational activities in the lowest forms of primary school will contribute towards easing the often abrupt and hard transition from the educational methods in kindergarten.

At all levels this change holds the valuable effect that it can contribute towards an improved *well-being* for the children at school. Aesthetic and creative activities will in themselves provide valuable experiences for the children, and the majority of the children will feel an immediate wellbeing as a result of *physical activities.* We also consider it important to adopt a broader ideal of breeding which appreciates physical avtivities and the practical-creative activities on an equal footing with intellectual achievements. If aesthetic subjects do not hold a stronger position in the primary and lower secondary schools and at the teacher training colleges, it is perhaps due to the fact that there are not sufficiently many teachers with a background for including aesthetic elements into the traditional non-aesthetic subjects. Another reason is that these subjects do not count in the examination result, and this is a continuation of a tradition of many years' standing.

13. A special problem attaches to the fact that the daily life of children and young people has changed so that they exercise much less than before. In the long term this implies a serious risk for the general health of the population. Doctors have clearly stated that the school must attach more importance to the physical development of the children, and to giving them an understanding of the necessity of physical activities.

14. The heavy stressing of *the attachment to practical application of knowledge and skills* has several functions. One of them is to motivate the pupils more, and to involve them more in the educational activities by making the subject-matter tangible and to make it come alive. Another function is that it supports children who are more interested in practical pursuits as a result of the influence they get at home. Finally it may narrow

the gap between practical and theoretical education, thus giving the educational activities *a broader aim at the 4 lives* – and these aspects are additionally strengthened through the endeavours to break the isolation of the school.

The practical slant of the work of the school *may have many strings to its bow*, and at the same time some of them have the function of establishing the connection with the surrounding community. These two endeavours work well together.

1) *Practical activities* in the teaching may for instance comprise *work in a firm or at an institution* for a couple of weeks, such as is done under the trainee service scheme today. A couple of weeks in a firm may give an idea of the work at an actual workplace. This is however a type which is particularly well-suited for the oldest pupils (forms 8 to 10, and which could perhaps also become rather much of a strain for the firms if this system was expanded.

Other types of practical work may however be considered to be of far greater importance for educational innovation. An element in this would be that the pupils could participate directly in the work in the canteen of the school, in the cleaning, book-keeping, correspondence, the instruction of younger pupils, etc. Several members of the CCE are however hesitant to advocate this idea in view of the employment situation for the staff of the school, and they find that such a system must at any rate presuppose an agreement with the staff organizations in each individual case..

2) Other extra-curricular activities to illustrate circumstances in the surrounding community may be expedient elements in the educational activities. The pupils may go out to gather material in nature or collect information, for instance by 'interviewing' people or by seeing the things 'on the spot'. The material, information, and viewpoints from such activities may be processed and be used in the teaching, so that it becomes more practical.

3) A third item is made up of *practical pursuits within the school area*. The scope of such activities is rather narrow as a result of the design of the schools. If the school could get a large piece of land for growing plants, etc. as well as workshops (which should not necessarily contain many expensive installations and machines), a wide range of opportunities for practical activities would open up, closely bound up with the subject-matter discussed in class. The traditional practical pursuits such as woodwork, domestic science, photography, creative art, and electronics, can in this way be continued in a number of other subjects. In this connection mention should also be made of the work in the pupils' councils.

4) Finally the practical information may also be based on *pictorial material, films, audio-visual materials, or TV-programmes and fiction*. The important factor is that the connection between theory and practice is constantly illustrated in one way or other, such as 'production plays', 'decision plays' 'political plays', etc. where the pupils play various roles and try to identify themselves with the situations taking place in the real world. This is of particular importance as regards information about society and 'the preparation for participation in a democracy'.

The type which is most expedient will vary from one subject to another. The information with a practical slant will however apply to all subjects of the school.

All of these opportunities are known in the present primary and secondary schooles, but they should be supported in a number of ways if they are to characterize the work of the school. The opportunities would be improved if the buildings of the schools were extended and the land, too, if the rigid timetable was

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softened, if the individual school was granted more freedom to make decisions within the fixed framework of grants. It would also be important if the *total number of weekly lessons* was increased. A full-day school with a canteen and suitable rooms where the pupils could be, also outside the actual lessons, may provide the flexible framework for a more open school.

15. *The contact with the surrounding community* would be strengthened considerably through the implementation of the abovementioned proposals.

Another proposals in this connection is *the utilization of the knowledge and insight of the parents* in various fields by making the parents participate directly in the educational activities – of course not as permanent teachers, but as contributors in special situations.

In the same way it should be possible to have other persons participate occasionally in the educational activities; they could participate in the work at the school and tell about their experience and answer questions, so that the contact with the community will be direct and involving. Representatives of organizations within industry and commerce may be among the collaborators, as well as representatives for children and youth organizations.

The Sector Council for Primary and Lowe Secondary School will continue to work on these issues, and in the course of 1978 it will make more concrete proposals.

16. If these developments can be realized to a larger extent than now, it would provide good opportunities for *introducing innovations* into *the subjects taught in the primary and lower secondary school;* these subjects have until today played such a dominating part that the primary and lower secondary school is sometimes called *a specialized school.* The new Primary and Lower Secondary School Act describes *17 subjects and 7 compulsory topics,* to which should be added a number of optional subjects to be offered in the individual municipalities. Although teaching is of course not provided in all subjects in all classes, it is however characteristic that *parallel teaching is offered* at all levels in a considerable number of subjects, and that there is only a limited amount of co-operation between what is taught in the various subjects.

Many of the subjects are *'tool subjects'*, the most important function of which are to prepare the pupils for solving practical tasks or to manage situations or relations with other people. Literacy is thus an indispensable tool. The same applies to a certain extent to numeracy. Other 'tool subjects' have to a smaller extent independent existence or mission. They are valuable in a given context, but *the subject should never become an aim in itself;* to this should be added that the abolishment of the demarcation line between subjects and the inter-disciplinary aspect *should not become an aim in itself either.*

Most people will learn those things best which the are going to use for some specific purpose, and what they will learn least are the things which are detached from a context. By attaching teaching to the situation of the pupils themselves in the school as well as outside it, and by including relevant practical tasks in the work, an opportunity will be opened for working with the 'tool subjects' in their functional context. Nevertheless, some English words must still be learned, and some arithmetical problems will still have to be solved, as well as chemical formulae and other things which are characterized as *'ready knowledge'*. These aspects should also be included when discussing the school of tomorrow.

Such a change in the preparation of the teaching at school will of course pose a number of practical problems. In particular it makes demands on the organization of the school, on the preparation of educational material and guidelines, as well as to teacher training and consultant advice to the teachers. This will imply increased expenditure, which must be carefully weighed and accorded a priority in relation to other wishes for reforms. This is also one of the reasons why the reforms should be carried through by stages.

17. *In the short term we propose* that the following objectives should in particular be aimed at:

a) The preparation of the timetable in such a way that there will be blocks of lessons, i. e. more consecutive lessons with the same teacher(s), and perhaps the same subjects for parallel classes at the same time. This opens up possibilities for:

- *Co-operation between the subjects* where the same teacher teaches several subjects, or where a couple of teachers work together in a class (the Trump system). This will also open up possibilities of including the teaching at school in the co-operation with the activities of the pupils in the surrounding community.
- *The combination of subjects* where several subjects make up a fixed group of subjects, such as we for instance have it in the teaching in the 1st and 2nd forms, which is not divided into subjects, and the general informative subjects in the 3rd to 5th forms.
- *Individual subjects* with a large number of weekly lessons can be grouped in consecutive lessons. In this respect we can point to Danish – first and foremost in the first few school years.

b) *'Section 13-days' in pursuance of Section 13(2) of the Primary and Lower Secondary School Act.* Pursuant to this subsection it is possible to deviate from the ordinary timetable, and the educational activities may take place according to an unspecified structure for 10 school days in each class for the 1st to 7th forms, 20 school days for the 8th form, and 30 school days for the 9th to 10th forms. This opportunity may be used for such activities as school camp and practical trainee service, and also for activities in the surrounding community in close connection with the teaching at school.

c) *Modular schemes* pursuant to Section 14(3) of the Primary and Lower Secondary School Act, and Ministry of Education Executive Order of March 23, 1978, in pursuance of which it is possible to extend a lesson to last more than 45 minutes.

In the case of each of these items the concrete opportunities must be described with an accentuation of problems and proposals for solutions. The description should be supported by descriptions of practice, and proposals for curricula and guidances for subjects, etc. should be prepared; these should operate with teaching which is not divided into specific subjects.

Examples describing how it is possible to include activities in the surrounding community in the teaching should prepared for each group of subjects and compulsory topics. To this should be added descriptions which may be included in guidances for specific subjects.

18. As a preparation for a general implementation it may be expedient to *begin with* a pilot scheme. *In the slightly longer term* the task is to prepare plans which do not operate with the rigid division into subjects, but where the aims set for knowledge and skills, as well as the purpose of the school can be reached through work within other structures.

We furthermore *propose* that an expansion of the weekly number of lessons at all levels of the primary and lower secondary school is carried out, one of the reasons being to offer more room for practical and aesthetical activities, and for contacts with the surrounding community, and furthermore to create room for the above-mentioned priority of the physical development of children.

19. Many of the reform ideas which have been voiced over the last few decades have never passed the debating stage – or in same cases the experimental stage. This confirms that there are *a number of conditions outside the school which can limit* the possibilities for a closer connection between *education and the surrounding community*. These conditions should be realized and analyzed with a view to finding solutions.

a) The co-operation is thus to *take place in a divided society* where there is no natural contact between the various sectors. The co-operation will often have to be built up from scratch, and this will involve a host of problems.

Among the conditions of co-operation may be mentioned the circumstance that laws are made for one sector (the school), making the inclusion of activities in the surrounding community a statutory element of the timetable, whereas the tendency so far has only been to appeal to the other sector to participate.

b) It is important that the school makes an effort *to explain carefully the intentions of the educational activities to firms, institutions, and educational establishments which are to take part in the co-operation schemel*, and how they can participate in improving the educational activities. This information is an important prerequisite for getting such a co-operation of the ground at all.

c) From several quarters fairly unequivocal opinions have been expressed about the school and the educational activities at school which do not promote the inclusion of activities in the surrounding community. It may be mentioned that the *more stringent demands from the subsequent courses* have had the result that many people have found specific topics and modes of teaching more desirable than others which are more varied, but the benefit of which it is perhaps more difficult to control immediately.

d) It may also create difficulties if the pupils criticize various social problems – including the conditions in private firms – while working on them, and perhaps also make proposals for the solution of such problems.

Endeavours should be made to overcome such difficulties. Attempts should be made to get the required change in attitudes concerning the increased possibilities for the activities of the school and the actions of the pupils; this can be done *through a many-sided co-operation*. This applies to parents and parental organizations, as well as to trade organizations, public institutions, and political parties.

In order to continue with this co-operation it is crusial that all these aspects *have been debated by the political parties and in the Folketing*, and that the parliamentary majority has made clear declarations to the effect that a development according to these guidelines will be desirable.

20. *Helge Larsen, Else Marie Sejer Larsen, Gunhild Nissen, Finn Brandt-Pedersen, Erik Jørgen Hansen, Jørgen Weibull, K. Thule Hansen, Jørgen Hesseldahl, and Knud Erik Larsen* would like to insert their opinion at this point:

– It is a decisive difference between the primary and lower secondary school and all other courses of study that the primary and lower secondary school (forms 1 to 9) covers the period of compulsory education, whereas the participation in all other courses of study is the result of individual decisions. In this respect the individual person will decide independently whether he/she will submit to the conditions, including the various types of tests and examinations, which are prescribed by the courses in question. From this follows that markings and examinations should be abolished in the primary and lower secondary school. It is not reasonable to impose the obligation to participate in a course on the children, and at the same time classify them according to some fixed scale. The consequences of this is that the children are placed in a tier system, whose tiers are determined by norms which cannot be adjusted to the qualifications and abilities of all children. This is in itself unreasonable, and it results in a classification which counteracts the egalitarian principles which the primary and lower secondary school should apply in its view of the pupils.

21. *Finn Thorgrimson* kan concur in the minority statement that markings and examinations should be abolished in the primary and lower secondary school.

My reasons are that it contributes to a classification and a sorting of the pupils; this is in itself not expedient, particularly not on the premises of examinations and markings.

Furthermore, markings and examinations foster competitiveness, and that is a glaring contrast to the ideas about cooperation and solidarity advocated by the Labour movement.

I find that the possibility of streaming setting in the primary and lower secondary school should be abolished, so that all children will be taught in the compulsory subject at the same level *all the way* through primary school. This will do away with one of the most important methods of sorting which the children meet with at an early age.

22. *Finn Thorgrimson and Kai Varming* would furthermore like to have the subject *vocational studies* – an element in the vocationally slanted subjects – made compulsory; one of the reasons for this would be that it is in step with the excellent viewpoint expressed in the section that schools should become open to the community; another is the desire for a strengthening of the practical subjects.

C. Youth Education – Staying on at School

23. In terms of age post-compulsory education, comprising forms 10 to 13, is first and foremost an opportunity for the 16-20-year-olds, but the offers are also open to pupils who want to resume their education after having been away from school for some time.

24. Youth education introduces a new period of life and a new educational sequence, which to a higher extent aim at the occupation which later on is to become a job. At the same time there will be more room for individual wishes.

The transition from primary and lower secondary education to youth education should of course not be characterized by an abrupt transition. It should be made smooth, for instance by approaching content and methods in the last forms of the primary and lower secondary schools to the first form of the subsequent tier. The reforms proposed in the previous section will contribute to this, not least the provision of improved contact between the school and the surrounding community, and an improved stressing of the practical bias of all educational activities. Our proposal for a wider content of post-compulsory education will also contribute in that direction. But the structure of post-compulsory education must be different from primary and lower secondary education, in keeping with the changed aim of education after primary and lower secondary education.

25. The *10th school year of primary and lower secondary education* which is linked to the 9-year primary and lower secondary school must in our opinion be maintained. In the present system of primary and lower secondary education forms 1 to 10 constitute a total sequence in the entire planning, and to leave school at the end of the 9th form presupposes that there is a transfer to another course, where the sequence may be rounded off. The situation would be different with an educational system where there is a wide range of actual offers, and where all pupils leaving the primary and lower secondary school after completing 9 years of schooling are guaranteed that the course concludes with vocational qualifications or academic qualifications. A 10th year in the primary and lower secondary school would for instance be of importance as a year 'for growing up' for all those who for some reason need such a year. The reasons may be removal, illness, family circumstances, etc., or merely the which to postpone the choice to be made when embarking on a course of post-compulsory schooling.

If our proposals are adopted, the result may be that the intake to the 10th year in primary and lower secondary education will become smaller than today where it totals 65 per cent of a year group.

Today a number of pupils continue in the 10th to learn more than in primary and lower secondary school, and possibly to take the examination there. A strong incentive is the fact that a number of short courses of further study are based on the 10th form. If these courses are to be linked directly to the 9th form of primary and lower secondary education, it undoubtedly presupposes an expansion of these courses, possibly with a special basic year, or in some other way.

The transition from primary and lower secondary education to youth education *schould in principle not be conditional upon any examination*, and neither should specific optional levels be a prerequisite.

26. The CCE also considers it to be very important that the basic view that *the education of a person does not end the day he leaves school* should be adopted. A person cannot learn everything he/she will need later on in life in the course of neither 10 nor 13 years of schooling. The decisive factor is therefore that the individual should be given the best possible starting position, and this includes enabling him/her to develop further, and to learn, and to derive benefit from new experience.

We presuppose that a number of formalized and non-formalized courses of study are also offered later on in life, and that they are adjusted to the various age groups (cf. the following section).

27. Furthermore it is in agreement with our basic view that no course of study for young adults should aim only at the working life, but instead equally at all of the 4 'lives'. All aspects of life must be used as a basis for post-compulsory education. Only in this way will it be possible to get 'a well-rounded person' who can learn and develop in such a way that the various aspects of life enrich each other. It is equally important that the young people acquire knowledge and abilities which can enrich their lives, and that they develop knowledge and skills that can be used. Education is an important element in this. Youth education should furthermore continue the educative and socializing efforts of the primary and lower secondary school with a view to developing habits and attitudes which make it easier to live together with other people, and to co-operate with others.

28. The CCE has thoroughly discussed whether it will be reasonable to aim at provision being made for *everybody* to get 12 years of schooling in the course of the 1980s.

Our first point of departure is that we consider it to be vital that *all young people get an opportunity of education* after completing the 9th year (and perhaps also the 10th year) of primary and lower secondary education. In other words, the *residual group* – understood as the persons who enter the labour market directly from primary and lower secondary school, and who do not return to the educational system – must disappear or be reduced to comprise the very low percentage which in no circumstances will be possible to fit into normal education.

Our second point of departure is the view that *development must take place gradually* as a natural extension of the many innovations and reforms that have been introduced in this field over the last 15 years.

We are here thinking of two important innovations within the last decade: Basic Vocational Training and Higher Preparatory Education. Basic vocational training is on its way to becoming incorporated into the educational system in replacement of the training of apprentices, and the scheme is well-known by people now. Higher preparatory courses with new types of study-including single-subject courses, have become an alternative to upper secondary education for new groups, not least adults. At the same time upper secondary education has undergone a heavy development with a branching which attaches importance to social subjects and sciences, and on making the content of the subjects topical. Various attempts at co-operation between vocational training, higher preparatory education, and upper secondary education have been initiated at local initiatives. One of the possibilities that has been opened up is the combination: basic vocational training and single-subject courses within the framework of higher preparatory education.

These endeavours must continue over the next few years, especially with a view to giving youth education a comprehensive content, and to provide attractive offers also for the young people who the present system has been unable to induce to stay on at school. This presupposes *development efforts and pilot schemes* in co-operation between local authorities, organizations, the business sector, and the educational establishments. Some of them must be centrally controlled pilot schemes, but it is valuable that local initiatives are also made for such experiments. We are thinking of experiments with new methods of work and with a modernization of the content of the subjects, as well as on the development of new subjects corresponding to the wider range of occupational sectors to be covered.

29. Looking ahead to 1990 we think that the aim must be that *everybody should get at least 12 years of schooling;* many will continue with a 13th or more years, but we think that the 12 years should be a minimum for all. To this should be added 1 year of pre-school attendance, which we propose should be compulsory at the end of the 1980s.

On the other hand, the members of the CCE do not agree as to whether this should be done by *extending the period of compulsory education* from 9 to 12 years. The majority considers it to be valuable that the aim is reached by making post-compulsory education so versatile and attractive that the result will be that everybody stays on voluntarily.

An element in this would be an *expansion of the possibilities of support* so that there will not be a strong incentive to enter the labour market instead of getting an education. In several places in the country it will also be necessary to have a better geographical coverage as regards educational offers.

30. *Knud Øllgaard, Erik Tøttrup, and K. Thule Hansen* can subscribe to the desirability of all young people getting 12 years of education in 1990. But the formulation of the aims makes it seem unrealistic. We must assume that in 1990 there will still be a number of persons who prefer to leave the educational system before they have completed the 12 year period, for instance after a comparatively short training period after the basic year of basic vocational training. In our opinion it would have been better if instead of rather summarily to presuppose 12 years of continous youth education the CCE should have considered constructive solutions to the ways in which the 'recurrent' or 'lifelong' educational system could be prepared, in order that prepared alternatives could be available after a course of youth education of too short a duration for a pupil.

31. Even greater interest attaches to the question of the content, methods of work, and structure of youth education.

The majority uses as its point of departure the circumstance that the present system has proved to be valuable by virtue of the many different opportunities it has offered, and by virtue of the good possibilities for contact between the individual trades and population groups, as well as the opportunities for development it has contained. It has been able to make allowance for very varied needs and wishes among young people, and has thus been able to motivate many for education.

The majority finds, however, that an expansion of youth education to make it available to all young people, must be based on an improved co-ordination of the many different offers existing today. Endeavour should be made to make the system more well-arranged for the students, and especially to avoid that young people are forced to specialize at once after having completed primary and lower secondary education. It is important to ensure that there are possibilities of choice in continued education, and it is not least *of great importance to avoid a sharp division of the young people fastening a basis for barriers with regard to general knowledge and information already in the forms immediately following primary and lower secondary school.*

The majority finds that a resonable balance may be obtained through a system composed of a wide spectrum of courses in which the pivot is an expanded system of vocational basic training, and in which there is also room for courses which are primarily preparing for continued studies on the basis of a further developed upper secondary education and higher preparatory education. Thus, we do not exclude the possibility that there may also be other types, but we do not think that the training of apprenctices should be maintained alongside basic vocational training. In our opinion the training of apprentices is too narrow, and to maintain both of the systems would be unduly expensive. The members of the CCE agree that the possibilities embodied in the law should be used to gradually replace the training of apprentices by basic vocational training in the course of the 1980s.

This will be discussed in detail in the following.

32. *Knud Øllgaard* would like to point out that on the basis of past experience he is unable to decide whether apprenticeship training should be entirely replaced by the basic vocational training scheme, or whether both systems should be allowed to continue in future.

33. *Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen* finds that as a result of the formulation of the balance between the various courses, the majority accords a higher priority to the basic vocational training system at the expense of upper secondary education/higher preparatory education; this is done

in an inconsistent way when compared with the rest of the text. He completely agrees with the majority that there should be no preconditions when the pupils transfer from primary and lower secondary education to youth education; this should imply that the choice of the young people themselves between the courses primarily preparing for a vocation and the courses primarily preparing for continued studies must be completely decisive of the development.

34. In the first place we consider it to be important that a *common overall educational planning and administration* of youth education is established to ensure the desirable connection and clearness.

We propose that the *overall* administration within the sphere of the Ministry of Education is centralized under one directorate in order to avoid that there will continue to be a 'bifurcate' system with an upper secondary branch and a vocationally slanted branch.

35. *Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen* finds that it may be the result, but he does not find that in its deliberations the CCE has had an actual background for estimating the administrative problems in this connection. He recommends that the Ministry of Education makes a detailed investigation, and for this purpose assistance may be obtained from the Department of Administration.

We furthermore find it inexpedient that the day-to-day administration of the institutions within youth education is in the hands of various bodies. Some, in particular upper secondary schools, are placed directly under the State (the Ministry of Education and several other Ministries). Some of them are placed under the counties. Others, in particular the trade schools, are independent institutions, among which may be mentioned technical schools and commercial schools, and some are private institutions. A continuous sharp division of the day-to-day administration will contribute towards maintaining the wide gaps between the different courses, and render difficult the integration and the co-operation between the institutions which we propose.

We have considered various solutions, but we have come to the conclusion that the more detailed preparation of a scheme must be the result of further deliberations and negotiations. The considerable amount of freedom to make decisions which the free schools have, and which traditionally has been of great value to the Danish educational system, should be maintained – also in the 10th to 13th educational years.

36. *Erik Tøttrup, Knud Øllgaard*, and *K. Thule Hansen* dissociate themselves from the viewpoint that a common overall educational planning and steering should be aimed at. We find that for several reasons it would be considerably better to prepare a 'bifurcate' educational system, i.e. upper secondary education in one branch, and the various courses of vocationally slanted courses in the other.

The background is in particular that such a 'bifurcate' system must be assumed to provide the best educational possibilities for the young people. As regards the courses of vocational training it will hardly be possible to have the trades take an active part if there is to be a co-ordination of the steering of upper secondary education/higher preparatory education and vocational training. The result will be that the connection between the content of the courses of vocational training and the jobs they aim at will far too easily be weakened, and the sluicing of the young people into the labour market rendered unnecessarily difficult. The result may be that the young people may have to carry an unreasonably large proportion of the burden of unemployment (to the extent we may still have this problem). Another result may be that the business sector will not get the required intake of young people with good vocational qualifications, and this will hardly avoid having a negative influence on productive industry in the widest sense.

It will also be difficult to motivate the individual firms to make traineeships available if they see the education of young people as something that takes place in a system for which the business sector has no share in the responsibility.

Precisely the vocational courses of youth education make allowance for the wish expressed by a large number of people about a gradual transfer from the school to the working life (training with interchangeable schooling and practice), and the need for schools to be open to the community. It is difficult to find any reason for exposing the structures which have been built up to considerable danger.

We recommend that we now concentrate efforts on expanding and renewing upper secondary education/higher preparatory education on the one hand, and the courses of vocational training on the other, and that these aims are clarified.

This will in no way prevent the work on a further development of a co-operation in a number of practical fields, and neither does it prevent that interested pupils choose educational elements that belong to another branch of youth education. As an example may be mentioned that a very considerable number of pupils at courses of basic vocational training have already new chosen optional subjects which are normally offered as single subjects under the system of higher preparatory education.

37. In the second place we agree that *the financial circumstances of students* should be improved considerably. In the present differentiated system a number of financial inequalities are built in between the various groups of students. This discrimination springs from tradition, and has been maintained for budgetary and economic reasons, among other factors. As the aim however is that all young people should receive a minimum of 12 years of education from 1990, there should be the same conditions for all students as regards public financial assistance.

We take it for granted that teaching in all these courses will be *free* for students.

38. *Jørgen Jensen, Kirsten Kjersgaard, Finn Thorgrimson*, and *Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen* furthermore recognize that it is a problem that the pupils at many of the courses of youth education preparing for a vocation form an independent element of employment by virture of the fact they are included in the 'staff consumption' of the firms, and that labour and management will therefore naturally reserve the right to negotiate the conditions of employment and wages of the pupils on a par with that of the other employees. This problem must be taken up in connection with the proposals on educational aid on which the CCE has been requested to make a separate statement.

39. *Erik Tøttrup* and *K. Thule Hansen* take it for granted that the agreements entered into in the labour market ensuring that pupils at courses of basic vocational training and apprentices get relatively high wages, in comparison with the financial assistance based on a means test, will not be contested. The 'equal conditions' stated in the recommendation of the majority will then only comprise young people for whom no provision is made, and whom society must help by granting certain benefits.

40. Thirdly, we agree that the *influence of pupils* on the administration of the schools and the preparation of the teaching must become an important factor at this level, and it should have a wider scope than in the primary and lower secondary school.

We *propose* that the framework for the influence of the pupils is considered in detail, and that general guidelines for this area should be prepared.

41. *Knud Øllgaard, K. Thule Hansen,* and *Erik Tøttrup* would like to point out that the problem of steering is not as simple as one might be tempted to imagine on the basis of the points discussed. By way of example may be mentioned the fact that the courses of vocational training are structured in such a way that they provide a good connection between training and the subsequent job. It is therefore necessary that in a number of cases the labour market must have a say and have a share in the responsibility for the content of the teaching, etc. We agree that the pupils and the teachers should participate in developing the courses, but how this could be done best cannot be decided in general.

42. Concerning the *aim* of youth education the CCE members agree that there must be a wide spectrum of opportunities of either completing a full course or leaving after completing part of it with a well-defined vocational qualification. As has been mentioned, 12 years of education should be a minimum, but it will be in accordance with the present structures that some continued courses of further education will last 3½ years, som 4 years, and others much longer, depending upon the occupational tasks which the courses in question qualify for.

The decisive factor is that the *main part* of youth education courses will lead to full *vocational qualification* in a field which is not too narrow, and at the same time they should provide the required preparation for family life, community life, and leisure life. No course of youth education must be job-oriented only, and no course must be so narrow as regards vocational qualification that it only qualifies for one specific type of job. On the other hand it will be natural that some courses imply heavier demands on the students than others, because the *degree of difficulty* (discussed in Chapter VIII) is different in different jobs.

43. *Knud Øllgaard* agrees that it is in general a good thing that the qualifications are broad, i.e. that they qualify for more than one specific type of job. But it would amount to too much undue interference with the individual pupil's right to make an independent decision if qualification for one and only one specific job or one specific occupation is prevented.

Some of the courses within post-compulsory education will however not particularly aim directly at vocational qualifications, but as has previously been the case with upper secondary education and higher preparatory education to a higher extent *prepare for continued training* (or education). The term *academic qualification* is used to describe this.

In the discussion on these aspects which have taken place since the Højby committee introduced the term 'vocational qualification' and 'academic qualification', attempts have been made to give a precise definition of the meaning of these terms.

Special vocational qualification is a term expressing that the student has sufficient specialized knowledge and skills in a well-defined area to qualify him for carrying out the work and production functions which are part of the job which this vocational qualification aims at. In many instances this would be tantamount to being able to earn a full salary. In many cases it is however also required that routine is acquired in the job in question.

General vocational qualification is a term expressing that the person is not restricted to performing special work and production functions, but that he also a wider set of prerequisites to perform tasks in industry and commerce. It will be of particular importance that the person has the general qualifications described in Chapter VIII, and particularly that he has

- the ability to co-operate and to understand work instructions, to be instructed, and to pass on instructions,
- a broader basis of experience as regards the basic work and production processes, and knowledge of common tools and materials, their properties, etc., and furthermore
- knowledge of conditions of work in general, safety rules, problems encountered in the working environment, and the rules governing the fixing of wages, types of employment, and industrial law.

By Academic qualification is meant that the person has the required knowledge for embarking on a course of further or higher education with profit, as well as the ability to acquire knowledge at his own initiative, and so orient himself in a topic.

Special academic qualification implies that the person has the required knowledge and familiarity with relevant working methods in the well-defined specialized areas which he or she wants to concentrate on in his or her continued studies.

General academic qualification is defined as:

- the ability to analyze and draw conclusions on the basis of one's own experience and written accounts, and to be able to expound these things orally and in writing
- a good knowledge of English
- general knowledge of methods for compiling and processing data, and for a critical assessment of information and hypoteses.

The scientific, technological, and industrial development has resulted in a far more comprehensive and stratified spectrum of demands for special vocational qualification as well as special academic qualification.

This has clearly been reflected in the many new courses of education which have been introduced over the past 20 years. At the same time there is a clear trend in the development that general vocational qualification increases steadily in importance, and that the *gap between general vocational qualification and general academic qualification is narrowing.* The ability to acquire knowledge on one's own, and to develop skills and the ability to solve problems, make assessments, and make decisions will be of importance in a wide range of contexts – in the business sector as well as outside it. In still more courses of vocational training a need for theoretical elements arises, and in the sector of further education increasing importance is attached to the contact with practical tasks, which are to be discharged by the ones receiving this type of education.

The ability to listen and learn, to pass on knowledge and to take a position on issues is much-needed in both of these fields.

44. Thus we find that it is in step with several contemporary trends that there should be a further narrowing of the gap between upper secondary education and vocational training and the business sector. An element in this narrowing would be a revision and innovation of the subjects in the upper secondary school. A continued bias towards social subjects, psychology, and practical subjects is desirable, and this must take place concurrently with the practically slanted methods of work. In the same way upper secondary pupils should deal with practical tasks from the surrounding world in periods that are not too short. One of the possibilities would be a couple of months' stay at the workshop schools centering on basic vocational training.

We *propose* that experimental teaching is implemented, and that development work on such innovations is initiated in the upper secondary schools. Concrete proposals for such experiments have been discussed for some years, for example the Langkjær project (an attempt at co-ordinating the various forms of youth education). It is necessary to go on from the debating stage to practical experiments several places in the country, including experiments with local co-operation between upper secondary schools and vocational schools, such as is the case in Nakskov.

A parallel effort would be to include important elements of general subject-matter and elements of theoretical subject-matter in all the courses of study giving a vocational qualification. An important means for this would be that the principle of the basic year – such as it is known from basic vocational training – is spread to an increasing number of courses with a vocational slant. One of the other opportunities thus opening up is to combine a basic vocational training with one subject from a higher preparatory course comprising. In addition to this may be comtemplated additional possibilities of obtaining academic qualification in other ways than through upper secondary education. Reference is made to Recommendation No. 778 on the liberalization of the conditions of admission to the universities, etc.

The heavy expansion of the general courses which to some extent is due to the lack of alternatives, will hardly continue when the entire range of valuable courses within youth education are gradually made available, but it is difficult to assess whether it will be replaced by a certain decline in the intake.

45. *Knud Øllgaard, Erik Tøttrup,* and *K. Thule Hansen* agree that interested pupils attending upper secondary schools and higher preparatory courses ought to be offered an opportunity of attending vocational schools to get realistic insight into the available opportunities of getting a career in the business sector, or simply to get insight into educational fields in which they are particularly interested. A general scheme according to which it would be compulsory for all upper secondary pupils to be referred to parts of a course of vocational training would hardly be an incentive to all pupils, and it would hardly be in step with the wishes of letting the young people have a considerable influence on the content of their schooling. A general scheme – which in actual fact would be a type of integration /co-ordination – should consequently be deprecated. In this connection we would like to point to the favourable experience as regards having interested pupils at a course of basic vocational training choose elements from higher preparatory education.

46. The majority of the CCE members thus see a development towards a structure for the 10th to 13th educational years that embraces a number of opportunities from an expanded upper secondary education and higher preparatory education and a wide range of vocationally slanted courses, primarily based on the model of basic vocational training. In this structure upper secondary schools, commercial schools, technical schools, agricultural schools, domestic science schools, schools of administration, and other schools could be co-ordinated and co-operating education institutions.

The progress by stages must in the first place consist in an expansion on the basis of the model of basic vocational training of more and more of the courses which today are outside the system, and which are often short and heavily specialized. This applies for instance to the commercial examination and the training of technical assistant. Courses of education aiming at the transport industry, and courses for semi-skilled workers, as well as some of the administrative cources of the State and the local authorities, health education, and the training of social workers.

It may be reasonable that the expansion from very short or 12-months courses to courses lasting 3 to 4 years takes place gradually over some years, not least because the occupational sectors in question are of a type for which there is no available experience as regards systematic training, and where qualified teachers will first have to be training, and educational material prepared.

It will also be necessary to be particularly attentive to the *opportunities of girls* for training and education, and the effect of the 18-years' limit which still applies in a number of courses. The geographical dispersion of the courses of basic training, the financial circumstances of the pupils, and the gradual abolishment of apprenticeship are also urgent problems.

Furthermore, it must be ensured through amendments to the law that the demands on persons to hold specific examinations, to have completed specific courses, or to have specific levels at the transition from the 9th year of primary and lower secondary education to continued education should be gradually abolished. It should also be ensured that there are not such requirements as to conditions of admission to further education which may influence the preparation of the courses within the sector of youth education in a fashion that does not tally with their aims. Furthermore we attach importance to the opportunity for students to obtain general study qualification through a wide range of courses.

47. *Erik Tøttrup* cannot subscribe to the aims set forth by the majority with regard to the access from the 9th years of primary and lower secondary education to a course of post-compulsory youth education.

He agrees that no young person – irrespective of the results he may have obtained in the primary and lower secondare school – should be cut off from embarking on a course of youth education. However, he sees the majority recommendation as a proposal for free access to upper secondary education, and he thinks that such liberal access is inadvisable.

48. This system should also have *room for part-time education*, so that it will be possible for students to work in the business sector or work with domestic occupations at the same time as studying. In that case it should be possible to extend the period of study over more years than is normally the case. The problems which such schemes raise for young people, are in principle of the same character as the ones described under adult education.

Finally, young people who want to try something different for some years, and who therefore leave school after the 9th or the 10th year, should have the possibility of returning some years later and complete a course of youth education.

49. We are sceptical of the wide-spread promotion of a *modular structure* of the courses. This debate seems to imply that knowledge and skills and so on can be acquired in a number of well-defined and standardized units, which can be stacked on top of each other as a kind of toy bricks until one reaches the top.

The important factor is that education is divided into reasonably well-arranged sections, especially with a view to having some of these sections act as common basic constituents in several different courses. But these sections must have a reasonably wide content, and we attach great importance to the circumstance that education is not made too rigid in a rigid framework, even though certain requirements as to qualification must be met in a uniform way at all of the educational establishments in the country.

50. The courses must influence the many different *working methods* and educational methods, which are determined concretely in the case of each course in co-operation with the pupils.

In continuation of the educational principles which are described in the above as aims of the work in the primary and lower secondary school, all courses of youth education should be based on a combination of practice and practical information, of creative and aesthetic elements, and physical activities as well as theoretical elements. As a consequence of this the work should both be topic-oriented, project-oriented, and subject-oriented, and it must be a common feature that importance is attached to *group work* and *situations of co-operation*. This must not prevent the pupils from showing individuality.

Careers quidance and *quidance as to further studies* must be natural elements of all courses within youth education.

51. Today they are a large number of *buildings* available for the various courses of youth education, but some of these are however outdated. In several districts a large number of buildings will presumably be available in other areas within the educational system, perhaps especially within the primary and secondary school as a result of the low birthrates, but maybe also within further education, as for instance the teacher training colleges.

If it is to be possible to guarantee 12 years of education for everybody in 1990, it will be necessary to increase the capacity through fresh building activities and modernizations through remodellings and extensions. In this respect the co-ordinated planning of all the courses at the 10th to 12th educational years must play a decisive role.

As a result of the small year groups after 1968 the total number of 16 to 19-year-olds will be reduced by well over 10 per cent about 1990 and well into the 1990s than it will be over the next few years, and this factor will reduce the problems of capacity. However, it may create local problems that an improved *dispersion of opportunities regardles of geography* should be aimed at; in particular there should be a very wide range of courses in the first year of basic vocational training all over the country.

As has been discussed in the sections dealing with primary and lower secondary education, we think that all schools for youth education courses should be equipped with canteens and common rooms for pupils as well as rooms where recreational activities can take place. All schools should have rooms and grounds for athletics and physical education.

52. The great importance we attach to practical trainee work and practically slanted teaching will of course give topicality to the question of the provision of the required number of *trainee places*.

A majority considers it to be necessary – as youth education is to comprise all young people – that a basis is provided to ensure that the required number of traineeships is available. Both out of regard for the pupils, who are entitled to get the opportunity of completing the education they are pursuing, and out of regard for the planning of the work by the schools, endeavours should be made to make a planning of traineeships on the basis of an overall view. The labour market and the State also have an interest in such a steering of the procurement of traineeships, which must be based on local co-operation between pupils, schools, business enterprises, trade organizations, labour and management, and the labour exhange.

As an element in this, traineeships should also be procured to an increasing

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extent within public enterprises and institutions. In several respects workshop schools can be an important supplement to or a prerequisite of traineeships, but in general the cannot replace these.

Workshop activities at the schools will have the result that there will be an actual production at the schools, and if the work is to be meaningful for the pupils it will be necessary that such products are sold for consumption.

53. *Erik Tøttrup* and *K. Thule Hansen* demur from the idea that the tasks of the schools should also comprise actual production as mentioned above. In a few cases there will be a certain amount of production in connection with the plans prepared by the subject committees, and this production should be put to some use. If the schools go further than this, the result will be problematic. Firstly, the pupils will be put in an unfavourable position (without an agreement they do not get any wages, but aid from the State Educational Fund or from other sources), and secondly the course will not be so relevant for a vocation as when the pupil attends the type of course which the various trades find to be correct. A workshop school can consequently run the risk of becoming a kind of second-rate education. But to this should be added that the establishment of a production which is not strictly limited by educational considerations in its purpose, will give rise to a wide variety of problems in relation to the labour market.

However, it should be added that we might get into a situation where a sufficient number of traineeships cannot be procured, for instance as a result of a depression in trade, and a workshop school may be considered to be one among a large number of emergency solutions. This possibility should however be one of the last ones to be resorted to.

54. The present *teacher force* within post-compulsory education is very dissimilar with regard to educational background, and this is one of the reasons why it is divided into a number of organizations. The fact that the professional background differs must be considered to be an advantage, but endeavours should be made to create a common pedagogical background. *An expansion of post-compulsory education in accordance with the stated viewpoints will require a larger teacher force and teachers with an educational background different from that of the present teacher force.* The question of the future teacher training will be discussed in section F.

D. The Superstructures – Courses of Further and Higher Education

55. The courses of further and higher education are superstructures on youth education, but *the ways of access* are different. The long courses (typically university studies) are primarily based on upper secondary school and higher preparatory courses, some on a specific basic vocational training (typically courses at technical colleges and courses for senior technicians), and others on the 'reál examination' or similar types of examination typically courses within the Government services and courses at colleges for nursery school teachers). For some courses there are special age clauses (typically for nurses), or requirements as to vocational experience (requirements as to maturity).

During the last few years upper secondary school leaving examination and the higher preparatory examination have tended to become more common as a basis, also in cases where they are not entry requirements (for instance for technical colleges, and for the training of nurses), whereas at the same time there has been an increasing interest for providing access both to young people and to older people, who have obtained a certain amount of academic qualification outside the school.

We attach great importance to a great varity in the ways of access also in the future educational system, especially to give opportunities to persons over 25 years of age and without 12 to 13 years of schooling. Some of the courses of further education – especially the long ones – will however continue to require *special academic qualification* as an unconditional prerequisite. In that case it should be possible also to acquire such qualification through the special courses preparing for an examination. We agree that relevant vocational experience can be one of the criteria for entry in the case of a number of courses of further education which are subject to numerus clausus. By way of example may be mentioned the nurse who would like to study medicine, the secretary to a lawyer who would like to study law, and the agricultural worker who would like to become a veterinary surgeon or an agronomist.

Secondly the courses of further education have the feature in common that they are *courses terminating through an examination giving vocational qualification*, often an extremely specialized vocational qualification, and sometimes furthermore giving general vocational qualification. However, a few of these courses aim at several different jobs, such as a law degree, which can both lead to practice as a private lawyer and to private administrative work, and to public positions within the courts of law, the police forces, and the public administration.

It is our opinion that a number of courses of further education have had far too narrow aims. Many Graduates have become one-sided experts and technocrats. In future considerably more importance should be attached to the general vocational qualification, and on the general human development. It is true that first-class experts must be educated for a number of posts both in private firms and in public institions, but they must also be able to work in a wider context and have the ability not only to co-operate with others at the same level, but also with the clients who they are to serve. Many persons will get executive functions soon after having completed a course of study. They must therefore understand social contexts and their own functions in then.

A number of the courses of further education – particularly the ones within humanities and social sciences – contain a number of general elements to a higher extent than the rest. An increased integration of these elements into the courses of natural sciences, and technical and commercial courses will be the natural consequence of our general viewpoints as regards a larger scope of all courses.

During the last 10 to 15 years the expansion of the long courses of higher education has been so violent that it is difficult to see that there is a basis for continuing it. On account of the prolonged time lag between embarking on and completing a course of higher education – in the case of the long courses 7 to 9 years – the annual number of graduates has far from reached the level of the intake of students.

Attempts are being made to stabilize the intake to the long and medium-term courses of further and higher education at about 30 per cent of a year group of young people – including all courses of further and higher education – while the total number of graduates still only amounts to almost 15 per cent of a year group.

If there are no changes in the intake, there will be a steep increase in the annual number of graduates in the course of the next decade, and this will in its turn lead to a steady increase over the following years of *the total number of persons having completed a course of further or higher education*. At the time being this number amounts to approx. 10 per cent of the total labour force, and of this 10 per cent just under half of the persons had completed long courses.

Through the last few years the question of the *future dimensioning and the specialized structure* of further education has thus become one of the central questions of educational planning. This is justifiable as some of these courses are evidently the most resource-demanding within the total educational system, and furthermore because they are attached to the preceding tiers in the system because they are elements of the superstructure.

The point of departure for the deliberations in this respect must be that the courses of further education have as their main aim to give first-class qualification in a wide range of fields, which in one way or other are of importance to the community. As has been mentioned in chapter VII, the possibilities of Denmark for continually holding her own in international competition and maintaining a high standard of living and to develop further the welfare state, are to a high extent conditional upon the educational status of the population. This applies to the development of business enterprises relying on knowledge, but also on the public services and the general functions of society.

The first basic weighing which the planning must be based on *is the total need for* people with further education. Many attempts have been made to find methods to answer this question. We do not think that it is possible to give any precise answer, and in particular not an answer that is isolated from the development of society. But we think that it is possible to indicate a number of important factors for which allowance must be made.

What is certain is that the production of graduates having completed these types of education will almost inevitably increase steeply over the next 10 to 15 years – as has been indicated above. It is probable that this will lead to increasing unemployment and/or a reduction of the relative advantages in terms of income which the persons with a high education have had till now. An obvious possibility is that there will gradually be a reaction to the more uncertain prospects of employment and earnings, so that young people will not apply for these courses to the same extent as has previously been the case. In the long run there would in that case be a certain adaption, but it could be an unpleasant process of adaption for the large number of students who would be the victims – and for society it would be an inappropriate and costly process. In the long term such an adaption through the market mechanism would probably also result in some fluctuations lasting several years as regards the intake to the various of further education.

Realizing this the authorities laid down upper limits to the intake to the long and medium term courses of further and higher education in 1976 and 1977. We consider it to be necessary to continue having this kind of numerus clausus. We cannot rule out the possibility that it may be necessary to have a further reduction of the fixed figure for the main part of the long and medium-term courses of education of 20,000 a year, but it is certain that it is impossible in advance to freeze the development for a long period of years.

The determination of the level will depend on a number of circumstances. The general social development, including the economic, is important. The development in job openings and work functions for the various groups of graduates having completed a long course of education plays an important part. It is also important that there is an increase of the educational capacity for short courses of further education at the same time as the growth of the long and medium-term courses is curbed. The result of reaching the aim of at least 12 years of education for everybody in 1990 may furthermore be that the expansion of the courses of youth education preparing for further studies may be reversed, so that there will be a better harmony between the number of students and the possibilities of access to the courses of further education.

56. It is also important that the development is followed closely and that there is a continuous weighing through a co-operation between the public authorities and the organizations of the labour market and trade and industry. The Committee on Prognoses set up by the Ministry of Education has in fact been set up with a view to getting a basis for this.

The next issue will be *the detailed distribution on the various branches of education and subjects,* including the development of new courses or new combination of subjects. It is difficult to know the development of future needs, but it seems probable that there will be a shift towards natural sciences, and the technical and practically slanted main areas, which at the same time must be more socially slanted. It will also be necessary constantly to follow the development in the labour market, and to be in close contact with 'customers' as well as students.

It will furthermore be of importance that there will not only be a continuous and flexible procedure of planning, but that *more flexibility* is built into the educational system and in the application of the individual courses.

With a view to this we *propose:*

that all main fields within further education should offer courses of *basic education* as their first stage,

that possibilities should be opened up to a higher extent than has previously been the case for *transition between courses* with credits for examinations which have been taken in another area,

that the access to *combine various studies* will be freer; in itself this can be of great value, and finally,

that more importance than has previously been the case should be attached to *general vocational qualification* alongside the special vocational qualification which the course of further education may give. Some general elements can in many cases with advantage be placed in the final stage of the courses.

57. The proposals mentioned which aim at improved flexibility in the system of long and medium-term courses of further education, must naturally be assessed in a wider context of deliberations on the structure and content of these courses.

We find it unfortunate that there is a tendency that some of the courses of further education become more and more prolonged, with the period of study being up to 8 to 10 years.

The prolonged actual periods of study are often a result of deficiencies in these courses with regard to resources and educational guidance, and of the insufficient educational aid. We find however that it should be considered whether the *predesigned period of study* are in general to be so long. It can perhaps seem difficult to shorten the periods of study if at the same time importance is attached to more general subject matter and practical elements in the teaching, and if we would like to maintain the academic value of the courses.

In this respect we would *in the first place* refer to the requirement that everything should not be learnt at one stretch at this level, as is the case with other levels, but that more importance should be accorded to *further training* and *further education* in future; this will result in more flexibility and can also relieve the courses of basic training. Such opportunities must be developed at the universities, the university centres, and the institutes of higher education.

The *second factor* to be mentioned is that competence and skills in most jobs are the result of a broader qualification than the narrow specialized one.

The *third factor* is that the educational structure will not necessarily have to be the same, now that upwards of 20,000 want to continue in a course of further education as when the intake was a few thousand a year. A number of graduates with thorough specialized insight will still be required, but the question is whether it would not be expedient that a number of students can conclude their course of further education after, say, 3 or 4 years of study through an examination giving qualification.

Finally must be added in this respect – and this is an important note – that there will still to a certain extent have to *be access to very long and very qualified special courses* in various fields. In this respect we are for instance thinking of the courses for licentiates, but also of the other specialist courses of education.

We find it very desirable that there will be a possibility of innovation and experimental teaching as an element in the further development of the courses of further education. In this respect there must be room for local initiatives.

58. The guidelines outlined do not imply that we want completely to get away from the development up till now. On the contrary, it has been characteristic that there has been a particularly fertile development, both as regards the specialized content, working methods, structures, and methods of steering, pari passu with the heavy expansion of the courses of further education.

Some of the main elements of the educational innovation have been described in chapter VI.

We are convinced that valuable processes have been started which vill continue to develop. At this point we would only like to stress the importance we attach to ensuring that there will be an improved *interaction between theory and practice* through a broad application in the courses of varying educational methods and working methods, including for instance problem-oriented work and forms of group-co-operation, as well as to opportunities for periods of paid work during the studies.

59. The student revolt in 1968 meant a total turn of the tide as regards all previous ideas relating to the *'power balance'* at the universities and instutes of higher education. Moderate reforms which had been long in the pipeline suddenly became of no present interest, and in a short time the Folketing passed an almost revolutionary change of the administration of the long courses of further education. The 'professor administration' was abolished, and the entire teacher staff was in a number of cases accorded the same standing as students and technical and administrative staff. Students got very great influence, in some cases a dominating influence on the concrete curricula through their participation in staff-student committees, where they got 50 per cent influence.

This change of the 'power balance' supplied the educational institutions with strong impulses for innovation, but also brought about many conflicts. A number of basic questions concerning the future development still await clarification.

We consider the participation of the students in the concrete planning of the teaching as very valuable, both as an element in the actual working methods and the process of learning, and as a preparation for the later community life. It will however, appear from the above that we find that a number of questions concerning the administration of the educational institutions must be included in a far broader context, where the viewpoint of the 'customers' and main social regards must be elements of great importance.

60. *Research* must be an element in the work at the institutions of further education, but with the greatest importance attached to the long courses. Research is an important prerequisite for maintaining the quality of the courses, and to secure that the courses are constantly being brought up to date and innovated.

The students should have a possibility of participating in research projects within their field as an element in their education. It is furthermore important that possibilities are secured for transition both ways between jobs as teachers and researchers, and employment in other sectors of the labour market.

61. We cannot conclude this section without also reverting to the question of a *more equality-oriented educational policy*. The courses of further education constitute an extreme expression of the unequal distribution of educational benefits and of the values they open up to. And the imbalance of the social recruitment is probably greater at this level in the educational system than in the previous ones. It is true that there are no direct investigations of this question, but it is possible to draw indirect conclusions from the information concerning the recruitment for the upper secondary school, at least in the case of the majority of the courses of further education, which primarily recruit students from upper secondary education (cf. Chapter IV and Appendix 1. It seems natural to assume that the imbalance is even greater in the long courses of further education than in upper secondary school, both because the completion of a course lasting 5 to 8 years requires much more in terms of money than upper secondary education, and because the motivation is undoubtedly strongest for young people coming from the class of salaried employees and the upper middle class, cf. Appendix 1.

An expansion of the educational aid scheme would be a necessary means of improving the situation. The above-mentioned development of primary and lower secondary education and of youth education is supposed to work in the same direction. It is furthermore of importance that there is a rearrangement of the educational and specialized preparation of educational activities in continuation of this development – especially at the beginning of the courses; this rearrangement should make allowance for the demands from the new groups of students.

An improved scope of the possibilities of access would finally be of importance.

In recent years steps have been taken in that direction. This has been done in the form of expanded opportunities of exemption, and in the form of numerus clausus with a special quota for students who do not formally meet the normal conditions of admission, or in the cases where vocational experience counts as points in addition to the upper secondary school leaving examination and the higher preparatory examination.

62. *Helge Larsen, Erik Tøttrup, Knud Øllgaard,* and *K. Thule Hansen* find it inappropriate and almost odd that vocational experience counts as a supplement giving points to the upper secondary school leaving examination and the higher preparatory examination. We are definitely in favour of broader access to further education and would like to have a scheme introduced, in accordance with which access to further education is given on the basis of relevant knowledge and experience, no matter whether it is acquired through ordinary work, private studies, participation in seminars or courses, higher preparatory courses, higher commercial courses, or in upper secondary school.

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E. Adult Education

63. Several places in the preceding sections we have pointed out that the education of people does not end the day they leave school or the university, etc. Many people simply cannot refrain from processing new impressions and experiences, absorb knowledge and develop new skills, expand their understanding of what happens around them, and develop the ability to co-operate and to being together with others.

It is not difficult to find examples of this among such diverse groups as sole traders, politicans, leaders of organizations, and artists.

But the fact that many people have been able to develop and do well dispite poor educational ballast, should definitely not be accepted as an argument for *refraining* from doing anything to ensure that all people get a more extensive and better education. This can at best be a reason for using the term 'residual group' with care.

It has been immensely important to a large and increasing number of people with no training or education and people with a short training or education that they have been able to accept a supplementary educational offer later on when they are still young, be it a seminar or course, a stay at a folk high school, evening courses, etc.

The importance of this was recognized early in Danish educational policy; folk high schools are the most impressive and most important expression of this. But it is in particular in the course of the last two decades that there has been marked progress within the entire field of adult education.

64. The development in this field has been characterized by great fertility in a multifarious area. In our interpretation adult education ranges from vocationally slanted offers of initial training, further training, refresher training, retraining for re-deployment, etc., though the numerous offers of a generally developing and qualifying nature, to courses aiming at family life or participation in 'organization life' or community life.

Much adult education is inherently subject-oriented, but specialized teaching may also at this level comprise widely different intentions – it may be qualifying for a job or of a generally developing nature. A course of *English* may for instance qualify directly for a job, or it may be an introduction to the reading of English literature or to further linquistic studies, or it may cover a general need for making oneself understood in a foreign language. It may also be justified alone by the valuable experience it is to widen one's knowledge of languages together with other people. As a rule, specialized training will also hold many values of a general nature, just as dealing with general aspects of life may be of decisive importance for the desire to function in the business sector, and to fit oneself for the work in it.

The CCE finds that adult education plays a very important part in the total future educational strategy, and that this applies to the entire range of different activities within the field. Adult education must be accorded a higher priority in the future educational policy, i.e. more attention should be devoted to it, and more resources allocated to the field of adult education.

65. Unlike all the elements of the educational system described in the above sections, the development within adult education has to an even higher extent been the result of *private initiatives* from widely different sectors of society. The folk high schools were created by private persons or organizations and are all run as independent institutions. General leisure-time education is prepared by a number of different promoters with educational

associations leading the way, and furthermore by a number of local authorities. The vocationally slanted courses are arranged by business enterprises and organizations, and by the State and the local authorities. It should also be mentioned that radio and TV have become extremely involved in this field in recent years.

Not least because of the semi-private or totally private character of large sectors of adult education it has turned out to be difficult to get a comprehensive picture of the total extent of the activities.

In recent years the large business enterprises, the State, and the municipalities, have introduced large-scale educational schemes for their own employees at all levels, but perhaps primarily for the well-educated ones.

The large trade organizations, the unions, and professional societies also have extensive course schemes, both as refrescher training, and as training supporting a democratization of the working life.

Also *the State* and *the local authorities* have in their capacity as employers jumped on the band-wagon, and in the course of the 1960s the State has rapidly expanded its participation in refrescher training for semi-skilled workers, and in the next stage refrescher training for skilled workers.

The main impression is however that the public efforts as promoters in the field of adult education have not measured up to the expansion in the other fields – not least in the light of the fact that the 'clients' are here the entire adult population.

66. The preparation of an overall strategy for the future adult education must use as its point of departure the fact that mature students are in a situation which is different from that of pupils and young students in several respects.

This applies in particular to the situation of the adult as *a person engaged in active employment* with full pay. For most adults education will either result in financial sacrifices or an extra burden of work, taking up part of their leisuretime, and consequently it can also be a strain on family life and other social commitments.

Many adults will hesitate at the thought of 'going back to school again', and some will not take heart if there is no special incentive. *Reaching-out activities* must consequently be an element of the expansion. The guiding and reaching-out activities which today are carried out by the educational associations and other organizations, must consequently be expanded, and TV and radio should be included in this work.

The adult role of grown-up people will also require another type of teaching methods. It is particularly important that adult education takes place on the premises of the students. The teaching which may be termed 'useful' is the one which the participants consider to be valuable for their own situation. Student participation becomes a necessary element of the overall educational picture, and the teaching should use the experience and the problems of the adults as the basis for the activities.

67. It is difficult to give brief instructions on the planning of adult education of tomorrow. Adult education is to appeal to all groups of the population and should cover an immensely wide area, indeed, it should simply cover all aspects of life. Some people need new impulses and incitement for continued development, some want to expand or amplify their knowledge and insight in specific fields, others are interested in keeping abreast of social trends and the development in the manufacturing sector, and many people have a clear need of making up for insufficient schooling and youth education. An expanded youth education

service will finally contribute to narrowing the generation gap.

At this point we would like to give a brief outline of the main aspects of future tasks, but for more details we refer to the extensive account in which the Sector Council for Youth and Adult Education has presented comprehensive material and more detailed proposals.

68. The very comprehensive field of *general (non-vocationally slanted) adult education* is primarily leisure-time education, however with important exceptions such as stays at folk high schools, etc. We find it to be right and valuable to keep the very flexible and broad system, in which a wide range of enterprising organizations and institutions can prepare education with a great freedom of activities, and obtain considerable public grants for such educational activities.

The majority of the CCE find that in principle adult education should be free of charge for the perticipants.

Table 10.2. General leisure-time education.

Total number of lessons distributed on promoters for the educational year of 1975–76.[1])

	Number of lessons	Per cent
Educational associations	859,100	61
Other private org.	314,300	22
Local authorities	233,000	17
Total	1,406,400	100

[1]) Total number of participants in courses: 537,000. (One person may participate in several cources at the same time).

Source: The Educational Council for Youth and Adult Education, etc.: Contributions to the Preparation of the U-90 report.

We agree that increased public support should be granted for *the training of teachers and of leaders* of all types of adult education.

Radio and TV should furthermore back up the private initiatives. It would for instance be desirable that radio and TV are drawn into a co-operation with the national organizations on specific courses, for instance so that radio or TV would supply introductory material and other material that can be used and discussed in all local curses.

As the first stage we *propose* that such media-supported education is carried through as a *pilot scheme* for some years.

69. There is a wide-spread need among many *people who have completed a short course of study* – not least the young ones – to supplement *inadequate attainments* in the three R's, foreign languages, social sciences, etc. The learning of these elementary skills can take place in connection with other educational activities which are relevant for the participants.

A means for supplementing insufficient scholastic attainments is *the teaching preparing for an examination,* whose framework has been laid down in the Act on courses for Adults Preparing for an Examination in Individual Subjects, 1977. Youth and adult courses preparing for an examination are today provided at the 9th and 10th form level and higher preparatory level, and the teaching is primarily offered at 88 preparatory courses which have been established according to preceding planning by the county council. The activity is carried through on the basis of the modular principle, according to which a total examination may be taken in modules over a longer period than in the case of the traditional system at the same level. The participants have a possibility of continuing their daily work at the same time as participating in the course, and in some cases they will only have to take an examination in the subjects which are necessary for them in a given situation.

Examinations, assessments, and markings are however in accordance with the provisions laid down for the corresponding traditional courses at the same level, and the educational content and the educational materials are to a far too high extent prepared for young school pupils, and are built up as elements in a long unbroken school course. Consequently it is necessary to find the work patterns and working materials which correspond to the background of the adults. This will make special demands on the teachers, for whom importance should be attached to the actual qualifications independently of examination results.

In the light of this we propose the implementation of experiments and development work as regards the courses preparing for an examination which is provided for adults.

70. Adult education with a vocational slant consists primarily of initial training, partly of refresher training, and further training. In the 1960s there has been a rapid development of the courses of training for people who have not completed a course of study, in the form of courses for labourers and semiskilled workers, but these courses are however primarily of very short duration and very specialized.

On the other hand, refresher training has to a wide extent tended to increase the existing educational inequalities. A number of opportunities of refresher training are now provided for skilled workers; a refund covering a considerable proportion of the lost wages is paid out of public funds. However it is especially the well-educated who have had these opportunities and have shown an interest in refresher training and further training. The attendant costs are mainly defrayed by the business enterprises, and to a certain extent by the trade organizations of the participants in the courses.

We assume that business enterprises, organizations, and employees will continue to solve a number of problems in connection with refresher training and further training of employees and members who have already completed a course of study, and we find it to be reasonable that all institutions of further education assume responsibilities and tasks in this field.

The great problems concern however *people who have not completed a course of study* or *people who have completed a short course of study*, and who are in greater need of training, who find it more difficult to contribute to the financing of their studies, and who also have difficulties in getting educational leave of absence without any particular guarantee of keeping their job.

For a number of persons having completed a short course of study *the fundamental aim* must be free access to education or teaching with the same aim as the one provided for young people at the 10th to 12th educational levels. Consequently we propose that persons who have not completed a course of study or persons who have completed a short course of study, and who have a job, are given the opportunity at their own request to be *released temporarily from their job* without losing it if they want to embark on such a course. We are thus thinking of courses of a longer duration than the short courses for semi-skilled workers, etc. An amount corresponding to the previous wages is granted in compensation for the duration of the course; such compensation is however only granted up to a certain maximum at this scheme is intended to help the disadvantaged. The scheme should also be open to self-employed persons.

We assume that an annual pool will be set aside out of public funds, and the means for such a scheme will come from such a pool. We furthermore assume that the public authorities lay down rules for the administration of such means and of the courses within such a grant scheme.

The implementation of the proposal presupposes a considerable amount of development work and experiments. The scheme can be extendel by stages over a number of years as the experiments provide a basis for doing this. How quickly this can be done must be dependent on how quickly the required number of educational opportunities can be provided in practice.

71. *Knud Øllgaard* and *Erik Tøttrup* agree that additional efforts should be made for those who have only completed a short course of study, but the recommended means are of such a nature that – if occasion should arise – they would interfere materially with the agreements which labour and management have entered into, and with the production of the enterprises. It is for instance completely forgotten that it is not possible just like that to replace qualified employees with substitutes without considerable costs of training and a certain period of running-in. If the Government and the Folketing decide to disregard the consideration for the enterprises through legislative measures, the result would be that they would interfere in fields where the consequences of concrete interferences would be difficult to assess. By way of example may be mentioned that in many instances it would be difficult to keep a specific job open for a prolonged period, or the job may simply be abolished. In some cases the result may even be that an employee who is attending a course of study will get better opportunities than the ones who do not embark on such a course of study.

In a situation where it is difficult for the firms even to survive, it is difficult to see the justification of burdening the enterprises with additional responsibilities.

It will therefore clearly be seen that the recommended means should be deprecated. We find that society should try to use other means to make allowance for the aim in question.

72. An assessment of the considerable expenditure resulting from this proposal must be made in the light of the high rate of unemployment, which means that the additional expenditure on compensation is counterbalanced by a reduction in unemployment benefits.

Furthermore we *propose* a rapid implementation of a scheme according to which *unemployed people* can enrol at these courses and complete them without losing the right to recieve unemployment benefits. The enrolment must be accepted by the local employment exchange, so that the participation in the courses can be adjusted to the current employment situation in the area.

73. *Knud Øllgaard* and *Erik Tøttrup* would like to point out that this proposal brings the CCE into a field which is very problematic in terms of labour market policy. The CCE has made no attempts at clarifying whether a proposal will have the consequences aimed at. The general formulation of the proposal implies that all types of courses are included, and the proposal also recognizes that it will be possible for the students to recieve unemployment benefits for several years, and this possibility will hold evident possibilities of abuse, and it will also anticipate future support schemes for students. It also requires thorough deliberations to decide how it will be possible for people to fulfil the fundamental requirement of receiving unemployment benefit, namely to be 'available' in the labour market.

The problem is however of considerable interest, as it is of course in the interest of everybody that the period of unemployment it used to the best advantage.

We consider it to be of prime importance that the aspects of these problems are considered carefully before any concrete proposals are made.

The present situation with high rate of unemployment is a weighty argument for increasing the educational efforts for the young people who have left the educational system without any vocational training as well as for the adults who have completed a short course of study or training.

The fact that it is difficult when a trade revival sets in within a comparatively short period to wind up the system of educational offers which has been built up during a period characterized by unemployment, sets limits to the scope of the efforts for employment – political reasons. This is of less importance in the current situation where the long-term aim is an expension of the educational capacity, for the 16 to 19-year-olds and for adults. On the other side of 1990 there may on the other hand be less scope for using education as an element in employment policy.

74. The needs for such adult education will clearly be modified during the next 25 years. As 12 years of education as a minimum for all will become more common, the background and wishes of the 20 to 30-year-olds will assume another character, and this will both be of importance for courses preparing for an examination, and the more general courses.

However, even up to the year 2000 and onwards there will be a continued need of the same type as today among people of more than 30 years of age. But it must be assumed that the complex of problems will also change character as a result of a vigorous effort in the next few years. This must be included in the future planning.

75. *Finn Thorgrimson, Erik Jørgen Hansen, Finn Brandt-Pedersen, Gunhild Nissen,* and *Else Marie Sejer Larsen* would like to point out that they find that there are several positive features in the proposals for reforms contained in the U-90 report as regards adult education, as well as in the reasons stated in chapters VIII and IX for increased efforts in the field of adult education. However, they find that the proposals are neither sufficient for a total or a partial equalization in the foreseeable future of the educational inequalities which are a result of the present educational policy and which exist between the part of the population who have recieved a long education, and the large number of people who have only received a short education, and who constitute the majority of the wage earners.

It will require considerable resources to accord such a high priority to adult education that the educational gaps will be bridged. This will not only result in deliberations on the application of larger proportions of the increased resources for education in the field of adult education, but also in actual redistributions of the resources in favour of adult education.

We can therefore not subscribe to the viewpoint expressed in chapter IX, 18 to the effect that increased equality can only be realized by giving more education to many 'without simultaneously giving others less'. Adult education should be accorded a higher priority now. Therefore there should be an actual and more just distribution of the educational resources; this can only be obtained if a considerably larger amount of resources is earmarked for the ones who have received the shortest education.

Several surveys carried out over the last few years have demonstrated that it is primarily those who already have a comparatively extensive educational background avail themselves of the present educational opportunities.

The efforts required for changing the situation must be based on an efficient system of reaching-out activities and laws ensuring and actual financial equality with the courses aimed at young people; the result would be that the participation in adult education can also be free of charge, as has been stated in chapter X, section E.

The most important thing is however that alle people get the right to get leave for educational purposes with refund for wages lost .

Consequently we would like to see that the right to pursue such educational activities is carried through by law. The length of the period set off for education should not be limited in advance for the individual. The act should however lay down a minimum framework for the right to pursue educational activities without loss of income, according to which at any time a minimum of 5 per cent (annual basis) of the employees in an enterprise should have a possibility of getting time off from work to pursue educational activities.

The act on the right to pursue educational activities without loss of income should be a framework law containing rules for the framing of special schemes within the various sectors of trade and industry. The act should not restrict the opportunities found in the field of labour market training, but on the contrary it should contribute towards ensuring the sustained development of this educational field, and at the same time the general courses of adult education should be included in the scheme concerning the right to pursue educational activities without loss of income.

Correspondingly, skeleton legislation should be introduced concerning refund for wages lost in connection with the educational activities. This refund should be based on the principle that the one who avails himself of the opportunity must not suffer financially.

The educational refund should be based on the system which is already used in the field of labour market training. In this system the refund corresponds to the benefit rates used by the unemployment funds.

This right to pursue educational activities with refund for wages lost will have the result that the largest obstacle for the participation of many members of the Danish Federation of Trade Unions would be overcome. Consequently more people will avail themselves of the opportunities, which will enable the individual to participate more actively in the democratization of society and the working life; this in its turn will to a higher extent contribute towards the realization of reforms in the various sectors of society with the active participation of the wage and salary earners.

Such a scheme will not involve labour costs for the individual enterprise, and as a result of this such an educational reform will have a number of positive effects. As a large number of wage and salary earners will choose to avail themselves of an opportunity to get off work for educational purposes with refund for wages lost, the introduction of such a scheme will open up possibilities for more jobs at the firms.

Furthermore, we would like to stress the importance of an expansion of the vocational courses of adult education. Those who in particular get the opportunity of participating in refresher training and further education are still those who have received a long education, and this applies in the private as well as the public sectors; this situation should be changed by givning the employees greater influence through the liaison committees on the internal educational budgets of the enterprises and the institutions, and on the preparation of the internal educational activities.

At this point it should be stressed that the viewpoints expressed here do not imply a dissociation from the proposals contained in chapter X, but an indication that they are insufficient, just as the estimated increases of resources in the field of adult education far from fulfil the requirements for a just distribution of the educational benefits.

Reference is also made to the proposal on adult education made previously by the Danish Federation of Trade Unions.

76. *Jørgen Jensen, Kirsten Kjersgaard,* and *Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen* would like to express that they fully support the implementation of the principle stressed in the statement ensuring everybody a right to get time off from work to pursue educational activities with refund for wages lost. We attach great importance to contributing to the practical implementation of the principle and the more detailed adjustment of this to all areas of the labour market.

F. Teacher Training

77. The teachers hold a key position in the educational system, and if the ideas and proposals we have discussed in this report are to make progress, it requires active co-operation and involvement on the part of the teachers at all levels in the system. The training of teachers and educators is consequently one of the very central tasks of the educational system.

The generation of teachers who will be trained in the years to come will act in and leave their mark on the educational institutions in the next half century. But the present teacher force will influence the development to a still larger extent. As a consequence of this the ability to constantly learn and to develop further, on and off the job, is extremely important for all teachers, and an extensive system of in-service training and further training is necessary, and at the same time the structure and content of teacher training should be developed.

78. As has been mentioned in chapter V a total of approx. 100,000 persons are today employed as teachers, and this figure will grow in future.

All of these teachers come from socially and educationally widely different backgrounds. Nursery school teachers, recreation centre teachers, primary and lower secondary school teachers, upper secondary school teachers, trade school teachers, and teachers within the sector of further education have markedly different educational backgrounds, and these differences are maintained through remuneration, conditions of employment, and union regulations. There is only inadequate flexibility and possibilities of transition, and clear social gaps between the individual categories of teachers.

We consider it to be very important that all courses of teacher training are considered from the same angle, and that something is done *to narrow the gap between the different groups*. The common responsibility of imparting knowledge means that there are large common fields in all courses of teacher training, irrespective of the group of pupils the course is aimed at. This is for instance the case with the psychlogy of learning and development, the recognition of the role of the teacher in society, and of the learning situation for the pupils as well as the teacher, etc.

A co-ordination of the courses of teacher training is also important for the sake of the necessary interaction between teaching at the various levels, and the co-operation between on the one hand the teachers and on the other the teacher training colleges and upper secondary schools and primary and lower secondary schools. Common courses of in-service training, especially concerning topics relating to educational methods, will be one of the means for the present teacher force.

We also find that efforts should be made to gradually get rid of the clear dividing lines in matters of employment. Without going into detail as regards wage policy – which is not a matter for the CCE to discuss – we will also point to the widely differing levels of wages as a barrier to greater flexibility.

79. *Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen* and *Jørgen Jensen* fully agree that wages policy is not a matter for the CCE to discuss; furthermore they find that it is incorrect that the different wage levels constitute a barrier to greater flexibility. It is not the wages or salaries in themselves that create limitations, but the very precise professional demands made on the teachers.

80. The CCE members agree on the extent of the changes in the *structure of teacher training* to obtain the desirable structure in the entire educational system. However, opinions are varied on this subject in the CCE.

One conception is that all courses of teacher training should be based on *a common basic course*. Following attendance at this course the training college students may specialize as nursery school teachers, recreation centre teachers, primary and lower secondary teachers, teachers for the 10th to 12th school years, etc.

The majority finds that the present system should be used as a basis, and the individual elements of it should be further developed, so that basic educational principles will be the same and the interaction improved. The strong sector-orientation in the various courses should be replaced by a broader orientation towards the common aim in all courses, and the fixed boundaries between the fields of employment should be softened, so that transition from one area to another becomes possible.

Nursery school teachers and recreation centre teachers are in a particularly controversial field between educational policy and social policy, and they get the lowest wages and the poorest educational working conditions. To a higher extent we should stave to make the educational methods used in kindergartens comprise the learning and structural pedagogy aimed at the general intellectual, social, and speech function areas among the 1 to 7-year-olds.

Contrary to this *the training of primary and lower secondary school teachers* is centered on the learning of specialized subject-matter in a number of subjects, although to a smaller extent today than was previously the case. In the continued development more importance should be attached to the connection between the psychological and pedagogical education and the teaching in the individual subjects, and to an understanding of the socio-educational tasks which are now the responsibility of the school, the ability to co-operate – including the co-operation with the home, etc.

At the other end of the scale *the training of upper secondary school teachers* is limited to 2 subject areas, which on the other hand are cultivated very intensively, partly on a scientific basis. The educational and socio-educational aspects are largely dealt with as special subjects in the subsequent diploma course in education, and not as an element in the specialized education. This is due to the fact that the subject-oriented university courses in question are common to intending upper secondary school teachers and other aiming at another type of job later on.

We attach great importance to the fact that the development of the ability to impart knowledge and to co-operate is stressed already from the beginning in all these courses of further education.

The connection between subject and educational methods is also too fragmentary in the case of *the teachers* within the system of vocational training, adult education, universities, etc.

81. We attach special importance to the following four items as the essential main lines for the efforts to develop teacher training in accordance with the abovementioned proposals for a reform:

1) We consider it to be important that the orientation towards an improved contact between the school and the surrounding community, and towards a more practical-oriented and down-to-earth planning of the teaching in primary and lower secondary schools, upper secondary schools, etc., is also used as a basis for teacher training. If such principles are adopted, with the school as an extended place where the pupils can be both before and after school hours – and as a matter of fact not only the school, but all educational institutions – the teachers will also increasingly tent be expected to know about the surrounding community.

2) The problem of theory and practice should be tangible in all courses of teacher training – i.e. the problem of the balance between theoretical and practical elements, but also the problem of including practice, i.e. the activities of pupils and teachers outside the system, and their common situation within the system in the teaching situations.

3) To this should be added the education for co-operation, which must take place through actual participation in the decision-making, and group-work as elements in the training of teachers.

4) It is common to all courses of teacher training that the teacher is expected to master a subject as well as to teach and to educate. Knowledge within a subject and the ability to pass on such knowledge and the ability to use varied terminology to fit the situation are two aspects which should be kept together throughout the entire course, and theoretical periods should alternate with teaching practice, for instance through participation in teaching situations as an assistant teacher. It is also important that the teachers get a thorough knowledge of the working conditions of other people as an element in their training.

The fact that most teachers have spent the main part of their lives at schools or in the educational system, contributes towards creating a distance between school and the community. We therefore consider it to be important that attempts should be made to counteract the tendency towards isolation in other ways. It is for instance important that when teachers acquire the specialized knowledge they are made familiar with the application of such knowledge, also in other contexts than the teaching at school.

This introduction can furthermore be of importance to the teachers in that it gives the teachers a basis for professionally relevant employment outside the school. For some people temporary participation in working life outside the world of the school will expands their experience about it, for others it can prepare the way for a transition for good to another occupation, cf. below.

We also consider it to be very desirable – in a number of cases to be necessary – that there will still be a considerable number of part-time teachers, who may give new impulses to the educational system from their part-time employment outside it.

82. The expansion of teacher training over the last 15 years has been so strong (cf. chapter V) that it seems to be necessary to curb the development. The more detailed deliberations on the extent of the curbing efforts should however be included in a larger context in which are considered the futrure reduction of

working hours and the tempo of the expansion of the educational system, not least the 10th to 13th school eyars and adult education This is discussed in more detail in chapter XII, but already at this point we would like to stress that it is very important to avoid having a total teacher force in the 1990s with a distorted distribution on age groups, i.e. with a great predominance of 50 to 60-year-old teachers.

To counteract this a greater mobility as regards fields of employment should be aimed at – and gradually a tradition for this should be created, so that teachers who may want to leave the educational sector would have a possibility of transferring to another occupation, for instance in the social sector, the Civil Service sector, or the private sector. This raises the question of special offers of retraining for transfer and other forms of incentives for people who want to change occupation, and to faciliate the transition to another occupation.

It should also be considered whether part of the increased requirement for recruitment of teachers for adult education can be covered by the transition of teachers with teaching experience from primary and lower secondary schools, youth education, and further education. Of course this does not imply any wish for limiting the intake of teachers who have completed another type of education to adult education. The access to pedagogical training for such teachers should be guaranteed.

83. As was mentioned at the beginning of this section it is extremely important that the teachers are able to continue to develop and to give others new impulses. A necessary element in this is that the theachers will be entitled to release for various types of *in-service training*.

Through several generations The Royal Danish College of Educational Studies has handled this task for primary and lower secondary teachers. The college has expanded considerably over a number of years, but we find that the need for in-service training is increasing, one of the reasons being the above-mentioned shift in the distribution on age groups of the teachers, but also the consideration for the vigorous educational development and innovation to be expected.

However, it is equally important that the other group of teachers are also quaranteed opportunities of in-service training at universities, institutes of higher education, etc. This also applies to the teachers at such institutions, as the attitudes of the teachers and their professional knowledge is a prerequisite for the desirable new orientation as regards the aim of university education, etc. The same type of arrangements as have been introduced for primary and lower secondary teachers, (leave with pay, teacher substitutes, etc.), must also be introduced for the other groups.

Finally, a co-operation between the institutes of further education on this – perhaps organized at the regional level – might result in the introduction of new and exciting opportunities. Experiments and research will be of great importance to this process.

G. Educational Aid

84. The need for an improved financial basis for large groups of students has been mentioned several times in the preceding sections. This has especially been the case in connection with the deliberations on an educational policy based on more equality of educational opportunity. At present the situation is as follows: a large number of different schemes and sets of rules have been introduced in the course of the heavy expansion of the aid schemes over the last 20 years. Although some of these schemes provide reasonable conditions of life for a few

groups of students, the main charactheristic of the present situation is, however, that large groups of students are more or less left in the lurch. Consequently, it is both imperative to make considerably larger funds available, and to revise the many rules and regulations governing support and the refunding to pupils for lost wages. Such a reform must inevitably be influenced by more general social political and employment political consideration, and on the whole such a reform should be seen in the light of the employment operings for young people.

Before the CCE had concluded its deliberation on this subjects, the Minister of Education requested the Board to 'make a critical examination and assessment of the entire complex of problems as regards the financial conditions of students with a view to a description of the facts and a proposal for a change of the schemes in force' (October 1977). This report is to be submitted by June 1978.

In the light of this we have not found it expedient to try to arrive at final conclusions and proposals concerning reforms of the various support schemes in the U-90 report. We only want to stress that an expansion and a change of the support schemes are decisive prerequisites for an implementation of a number of the ideas for reforms contained in the U-90.

Chapter XI

Problems of Steering

1. The term 'steering' has been mentioned in many meanings in the preceding chapters. To 'steer' has become a catch-word in the 1970s, covering many different processes, which were previously designated by terms such as manage, determine, affect, regulate, exert influence on, etc. It has not so much interest to elaborate on these various terms as to give an account of the real problems.

It is a very varied area with widely differing forms of administration and traditions for the various educational fields. All education is of course subject to a political control of aims, examinations, structures and competence as well as the finances, but the degree of control differs widely from area to area. At one end of the scale there are the agricultural courses of education which emanated from the folk high school movement, and which only to an insignificant extent have a central political administration. On the other hand, they are firmly anchored in a chain of organizations and former pupils. In the other end of the scale we have the vocational courses administered centrally through detailed curricula found to be necessary to ensure qualification for a vocation/authorization.

Many different participants – pupils, parents, teachers, labour market, organizations, political bodies, etc. – are involved and employ very different means of control.

Public opinion, and especially among *the parents*, has a decisively role. The so-called debate of school indoctrination*) clearly revealed that central issues in the school are capable of arousing strong forces in society. The notion of what is generally accepted exerts a great influence on the activities within the institutions of education. However, with more weight in the primary and lower secondary school here the parents' influence is greater than in the following education.

The teachers' attitudes, training and post-graduate training constitute another decisive factor. The discussion taking place in the staff rooms and the debate going on in the professional journals of the teachers often have an effect that is just as steering as written rules and guidances from the authorities. It can be difficult for the individual teacher to get a comprehensive view of the innovations in a new act, but talks with colleagues and reading in journals possibly supplemented with a short post-graduate training course form the basis for his own interpretation.

In an unchanged school the experienced teacher may build up a very exact knowledge about the pupils' possibilities of coping with assigned tasks and problems. In a school undergoing a continuous change in a world changing just as fast, it is far more difficult for the teacher to evaluate the pupils' qualifications and in particular to adapt assignments and topics to the pupils' possibilities. In addition, there is the question of the teacher's freedom of method which will be discussed in detail later.

The financial limits and the structure within which the steering takes place are a third factor that may cause quite big problems when a desired aim is to be obtained.

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*) (an authurst of attacks on the primary and lower secondary schools for being too left-wing which quickly subsided).

A fourth central problem is the distribution of pupils to the various types of education. The conflict between the real development possibilities for the individual pupil and the sorting mechanisms of the system is mentioned in chapter IV. This distribution is often outside the field of activity of the educational system. The problems of distribution are created already at an early stage when the area of a school district is fixed with a school centrally located.

Incidentally, our task in this connection is not to map out the entire field, but to point out the problems that require special attention in the years to come. A more thorough treatment than is possible here would necessitate the inclusion of the underlying interests and forces in the society, which inter alia are reflected through the demands from the various groups of participants and their relative strength within the various courses of education.

2. *The pupils' active participation* in the organization of the concrete instruction plays a double role. Partly, the pupils are natural co-participants in the organization, and partly the pupils' participation in the organization has a pedagogical function.

Pupil/student participation may contribute to the development of their capabilities of participating in common discussions and decision-making processes, and thereby give the talk about democratic co-operation a practical content. Furthermore, it may contribute to the motivation and commitment because choice of subjects to a higher degree falls within the pupil's fields of interests, and because that which is decided in harmony has a different value than that which is just laid down by others. Finally, this also permits an interplay between teachers and pupils and parents.

The understanding of this side of the courses of education has been increasing during recent years, and we find that the development must be carried on. It is clear that it also creates problems for example in relation to the processes of steering, discussed below, because pupil and student preferences can often be the opposite of what the labour market or the political bodies consider important.

A. Control of the Teaching

3. This possibilitity of conflict concerns of course first and foremost the control of the *teaching*. The pupil and student participation may also have consequences in the financial field, but the decisive issues will hardly manifest themselves so much in this field.

Freedom of method is something which is essential and characteristic of the Danish teaching tradition. Usually, it is referred to as the teachers' freedom of method because from their knowledge of the aim of the instruction, the pupils' qualifications and the teaching materials chosen the teachers have the professional responsibility that the teaching methods are adapted to the concrete siuations.

In real terms it is of course only a restricted personal freedom of method within the framework fixed from the outside first and foremost by the folketing, the government and the municipal school authorities. Further, it is evident that the pupils' and the parents' views and wishes often affect the teachers' choice of methods and their organization of the instruction.

The reason why the teachers' freedom of method has been discussed so much and has been vigorously emphasized in the primary and lower secondary school is probably in particular the wish to ward off direct political interference in the organization of the instruction and perhaps also a wish to enable the teachers to reject such claims from parents and local

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groups of interest as the teachers cannot carry out within the limits laid down for the activities of the school.

In the post-compulsory education there has traditionally been a somewhat more rigid laying down of content to maintain the uniform level necessary as the basis of further education and to an appointment in trade and industry at the salary negotiated by labour and management during the collective bargaining.

In the courses of further and higher education the organization was left in the hands of the teachers exclusively up to the Administration of Institutions of Higher Education Act of 1970. Also within this field the physical environment comes into play. Facilities like those at Roskilde University Centre are particularly suitable for group work.

The supreme control of the teaching is carried out at several different levels. Among the centrally fixed requirements directly aimed at the teaching there are especially regulations as to the subjects in which instruction is to be given and in respect of tests and marks, furthermore rules concerning number of lessons and time tables. Indirectly the school structure also affects the teaching, including the qualifications which the pupils bring with them from one level to another.

Among the partly *locally* fixed factors are size of classes (number of pupils), number of pupils per teacher, quality of the school building and the arrangement of it, and the appointment of teachers.

Finally, the *parent committees* exert influence inter alia through powers of accepting or rejecting as time-tables well as selection of text books and other teaching materials.

All this is something that 'directs', that is to say influences the activities in the class rooms. The balance between centralized and de-centralized control differs on the various levels and the various types of institutions.

4. The selection of *books and other teaching materials* is generally left in the hands of the teachers, but in the primary and lower secondary school now subject to approval by the parent committee and in the institutions of higher education from staff-student committee, etc.

In Denmark the public has always only very reluctantly interfered in this field. The production of teaching materials is a free market. In almost all other countries there is a system of pre-approval of text books (in many countries centrally) and in a number of countries it is state-owned publishing firms that produce most of the books. Only in respect of very short courses where the usual system of private publishing is impossible for financial reasons, does the public in Denmark finance productions. The ever increasing production of teaching materials by means of photoprinting and duplicating gives a far greater freedom of movement at the local level.

The CCE does not find it desirable to change the principles, but *proposes* that financial aid is granted to experimental production of new books and new materials. This can be performed for example through the establishment of special study or working groups who have been given the task of preparing new teaching materials, as is known from the vocational schools, from the production of material for HF-math and from Radio Denmark's production of books for television and radio school broadcasts. This is a natural continuation of the work in central bodies with curricula and other guidances which are difficult to separate completely from the preparation of the concrete material on which the teaching rests. Special interest is attached to material which is capable of linking the instruction to problems in the local community, and which therefore must be worked out locally.

5. *Finn Thorgrimson, Finn Brandt-Pedersen, Erik Jørgen Hansen, Gunhild Nis-*

sen and *Else Marie Sejer Larsen* propose as an alternative to the monopoly of the private text book publishers to establish public publishing houses which are to produce text books in paperbacks so that the books become the property of the pupils.

6. *The teacher training and post-graduate training of teachers, etc.* are important factors in the control of the teaching, which can especially be seen in respect of changes in the training. The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies played for example a decisive role in the introduction of the new math in the primary school in the 1960s. It can almost be said that the change was transferred from abroad (supported by the OECD) and realized through the work with the teachers at the courses of the above School. However, it is seldom sufficient that the central authorities order a single or several courses to have a planned change carried out. That requires a whole change of the field of work of the post-graduate training institution in question.

Almost the same applies to the debate in professional journals. For example, the magazine 'Folkeskolen' constitutes the common reading matter for all the teachers in the primary and lower secondary school. The professional journals create the opinion in the teaching force, and without a positive support in these magazines it is very difficult to change the teaching.

7. The question relating to freedom of method and control of the teaching on the whole has as mentioned a varying content according to the level of education. Traditionally, the freedom of movement in relation to the political bodies in these respects is far greater at the universities and the institutions of higher education than in the primary and lower secondary school. However, in recent years there has been a tendency in the opposite direction, viz. of attaching more weight on the wishes of the labour market and especially to the social aims of the courses of further education and at the same time of softening the central control of the teaching in the primary and lower secondary school.

If the general principles of the educational policy put forward in the preceding chapters – for example increased weight on arts and greater orientation towards the practical and down-to-earth content – are to be promoted on all levels in the system, this also presupposes that the central authorities give guide lines in this respect. Particularly as regards the primary and lower secondary school, but also for the post-compulsory education this can be effected through guidelines to curricula and the planning of the instruction, etc. for the various subjects and courses.

The fixing of educational main guide lines must rest with the folketing and ministries. It is especially important that the curricula and regulations governing tests and examinations at the teacher training colleges at all levels are brought into harmony with the aims of the educational policy.

Within the primary and lower secondary school it will be natural that the municipalities participate in the determination of the more detailed framework of the individual institutions. This applies for example to the provision of optional subjects in the primary and lower secondary school and the preparation of curricula and allocation of lessons.

Besides, the parents' views must be given relatively much weight as regards the primary school with associated pre-school classes.

Within the post-compulsory education and the courses of further education it will be natural that the labour market and the organizations of the vocations and professions in question participate in the considerations of the guide lines.

It is our general view that it must still be a *general principle* for all parts of the educational system that there must be *much freedom for the individual institution and within this for the individual teachers and groups of pupils to choose* between and to experiment with educational approaches and the content.

8. *Knud Øllgaard* and *Erik Tøttrup* concur in the opinion that it may be valuable to include teachers and pupils as active participants in the educational sequence. However, we are doubtful as to the extent of such participation, in particular as regards the content of the vocational courses of education. One of the most important aims of these courses is that the pupils taking such a course are to be able to use their knowledge in respect of the task awaiting them in the business life without the necessity of additional education. Teachers and pupils can of course not have such a keen appreciation of these possibilities that it will be appropriate to let them change to a substantial degree aims and content on their own premises. In this connection it should be remembered that for example safety reasons may necessitate procedures of work that at first sight may seem inexpedient.

The possibilities of the teachers and pupils making changes on their own initiatives and without prior approval are therefore presumably somewhat more restricted in respect of the vocational courses than in others less directed to specific aims.

The problem is rather to find means and ways to make it easier for the schools (pupils and teachers) to discuss – and permission to try – new ideas. It should not be very difficult to create a framework for such a co-operation, and it works already now quite well in connection with a number of schools. The further development presupposes apparently first and foremost a positive attitude from the administration towards a common wish nourished by the participants in the schools and the trades and industries for a constant improvement in the courses of education.

9. The control of the teaching can to a great extent be exercised without collision with the economic considerations following from the fact that teaching and education involve money. Some methods cost, however, more than others, and the choice of methods *may* therefore also lead to a consideration of what the money otherwise could be spent on. The connection will to a certain extent be that the *quality* of the course depends upon the availability of resources, and especially the number of *pupils/students per teacher*, what tasks are imposed on the teachers as well as what possibilities the teachers have for currently developing their teaching methods.

B. The Economic Control

10. *The economic control* is, however, to a much greater degree a question of the *quantities* of the courses of education: intake of pupils, number of weekly lessons per pupil and number of school years per pupil. The economic control is therefore to a considerable extent left in the hands of other bodies than the educational one and is far more centralized. The economic frames are something that is given from the outside in relation to each institution and much more in relation to the teachers, pupils and parents in the individual school. 'The powers of granting financial aids' is at a high level in the system, either at the municipal, county or government level.

Besides, the allocation of competence between the government, counties and municipalities differs widely at the various levels in the system. The primary and lower secondary school has substantially been municipal (or private) and immediately administered by the municipalites through their grants, but the government has a supreme influence through the legislation and general rules derived therefrom which fix a lower limit of the grant allocated to the primary and lower secondary school.

In respect of the upper secondary school the financial competence is split in a different way. In spite of the fact that all upper secondary schools are financed by the counties some of them are owned by the government and 100 per cent administered by the government, while the rest is either county schools or private ones receiving grants from the government and indirectly administered by the government through the centrally fixed educational requirements which must also be met financially.

The vocational courses have to a great extent been run by semiprivate institutions managed by boards with a strong representation from trade and industry, etc. Also in this field the government has had a substantial influence by virtue of grants and general rules, while the influence of counties and municipalities has been limited to give financial aid to ensure the establishment and expansion of the vocational schools.

Finally, the institutions of further education are by and large owned by the government or independent with 100 per cent government grants and thereby subject to a stringent control through the government grants with limitation on staff numbers and control of appointments. However, these institutions decide to a great extent what they will do with these grants, especially as they have the powers of distributing the allocated funds on various subjects.

11. While the economic control saw no great conflicts at the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s when comparatively ample grants were allocated for educational purposes, there has in the early 1970s been a marked change in this respect. In a period when the number of pupils – especially at the higher levels in the system – increased rapidly a strong check was put on the grants which necessarily had both problems and conflicts in its wake. This will undoubtedly characterize the coming years to an even higher degree, but with different strength in the various parts of the educational system.

12. The lesson to be learnt from the development during recent years and from the present conflicts in the system is especially that the economic control cannot exclusively be performed on the basis of the grants to the individual fields and institutions. By grants we understand the allocation of *money* and also the approval of *appointments* first and foremost of *teachers*.

The experience can be divided into the following three points:

Firstly, it is not possible without great tensions to control the dimensioning of the various schools and educational institutions through the granting of money and appointments, if there is no *control of the intake of pupils*.

The problem is not so big as regards the primary and lower secondary school where it is provided by statute that everybody must be accommodated, and where the municipalities have a comparatively certain basis for forming an estimate of the flow of new pupils some years ahead. The age composition of the population, the birth rate and the rate of housing construction are the most important indicators.

For the youth education and the courses of further and higher education the intake of pupils has on the other hand been a dynamic and rather unpredictable factor. This applies to the recruitment as well as the distribution on the many different courses and studies. It has especially been problematic that in certain fields there was a comparatively stringent numerus clausus so that fluctuations in the total intake hit in particular the remaining fields where there was no restricted admission, first and foremost the upper secondary schools and the universities. Attempts at controlling these fields through a strict allocation of grants will create conflicts when there is no restriction of the admission of students. It has therefore turned out to be necessary to include recruitments and the educational sequence as basic quantities in the planning and administration.

Secondly, it cannot give satisfactory results if it is attempted to administer each individual part in the system from its own premises. There are a number of internal connections between the various parts of the educational system. A separate administration of each individual field was, however, prevailing up to 1976. Some courses of education have thus had restricted admission from more specific considerations so that the flow of pupils was directed towards other, co-ordinate courses. The constant expansion of the upper secondary school (plus higher preparatory examination (HF) and courses leading to the upper secondary school leaving examination) has not been combined with a corresponding expansion of the courses of further and higher education or of other possibilities of continuing in a course that qualified for a vocation.

Thirdly, the efforts of creating possibilities of education for all young people were impeded by the difficulties in ensuring a sufficient number of traineeships within all trades during the initial period of the basic vocational training.

It is precisely these factors that make it necessary to work with a coherent overall planning. The recognition of this is not new and for the courses of further education separate work has been going on with an *overall planning* during the last five or six years. But also this overall planning only relates to one section, and must therefore be included in a broader connection.

It is precisely one of the ideas of U-90 to emphasize this.

13. If there is to be any prospect of getting useful results from such overall planning it is necessary to establish *connections to the general conception of the development of our society* and to the basic political aims.

The dimensioning of the individual courses of education, that is to say the number of pupils/students, must be balanced both in relation to each other and to the social requirement for these courses. At the same time it must be ensured that the individual pupil or student has a number of vocations and professions to choose among. It is very difficult to balance these considerations, but as is already mentioned in chapter X it is necessary in respect of the courses of further education carefully to follow and evaluate both the balance between the various levels of education and the divisions into trades, professions and courses of education. Simultaneously, the considerations must be balanced in relation to the possible financial total limits for the entire educational system.

It is necessary prerequisite if such a planning is to function that possibilities are provided of controlling the flow of pupils as well as the continued expansion of the educational capacity in accordance with the aims laid down for the efforts in the entire educational system.

We by no means emphasize this merely to create the basis for an argumentation in favour of a restricted admission in all parts of the educational system beyond the primary and lower secondary school. Our aim is not to cut off anybody from getting an education. On the contrary, we find it necessary to include the regulation of the flows of pupils in the considerations regarding the administration, if it is desired to develop the Danish educational system towards giving everybody an equal opportunity and at the same time ensure that there are possibilities of getting an education for everybody, also for the residual groups up till now.

The regulation of the admission to the various parts of the educational system must not merely be seen as something negative only designed to keep someone out. It is important to use the positive possibilities of regulation inherent in vocational guidance and guidance in respect of further studies as well as ensuring that there is a sufficient amount of the necessary traineeships. Finally, the *state educational aid* gets into the picture as a positive factor for all those who for financial reasons cannot finish their courses.

14. Three further questions concerning the economic control must be mentioned.

The first is that the control must be so close that no *change in the standard* takes place, which has not been provided for or anticipated in the planning.

Standard improvements, which have often been observed previously in the wake of the general increase in wealth, may run into huge extra expenses over a number of years even though they only constitute one or two per cent per year. This would diminish the total possibilities of expanding the educational system.

Certain improvements in the standard are perhaps necessary, but then they must be included in the planning stage and be put forward in concrete proposals for grants.

The second point is that the actual periods of study especially at the universities exceed the prescribed time of study. One of the reasons for this is undoubtedly the *inadequate educational aid* that forces many students to take jobs at times and to such an extent that they cannot keep the prescribed time. This could be offset by allowing students having jobs – for one term at the time – to be registered as part-time students or 'non-active students'.

A second reason must undoubtedly be sought in the fact that the students are less inclined to finish their courses when *unemployment* lurks ahead. By extending the period of study they can often obtain better marks which enhance their chances on the labour market.

Another possible explanation is that some syllabuses can only be observed if a far more effective *guidance and councelling* is given so that the studies from the outset can be organized expediently by the individual student.

15. *The third point* concerns the *control of the research grants,* a question which mainly gets into the picture in connection with the courses of further education.

By this we do not of course mean to propose anything in the direction of a control of research by means of rules as to *what methods* the research workers are to use, nor *what results* they are to aim at, nor *what conclusions* to be drawn from the various investigations. *The freedom of the research workers* is fundamental in these respects.

What we have in mind is the amount of resources placed at the research workers' disposal and the guide lines setting out the fields on which the research workers are to concentrate.

Research is an important aspect of the activities going on at the universities and institutions of higher education. To ensure innovations in teaching, research closely connected to teaching is necessary.

On the other hand, contacts to the outside world are essential to teaching. A research at the universities and institutions of higher education, which to a higher degree than up to now is directed towards problems stemming from outside the narrow scientific environment, will serve a double purpose. It will partly make the courses more practical through closer connections to the outside world, and it will be important for the society as a whole and especially the labour market to be able to co-operate with research workers at the universities and institutions of higher education. This may simultaneously strengthen the research workers' function in the population.

Research is also a decisive condition of the international contacts from which the courses of further education benefit to a great extent. Only if the Danish research workers are able to produce some results will they obtain contacts with important research workers in the individual fields all over the world.

We find that research is necessary for the teaching at the long courses of further education, but the very rigid division of the teachers' working hours into 'teaching hours' and 'research hours' must be liberated. At the other levels of education there must be possibilities of educational development and experiments.

Chapter XII

Resource Requirements and Possibilities

1. In the preceding chapters we have set out a large number of proposals and wishes for a continued development and expansion of the Danish educational system. It will undoubtedly be possible to implement some reforms within the present limits of the resources; this applies to administrative and structural reorganizations as well as some of the proposals concerning changed methods of work and educational innovation. Other reforms require increased recourses, and some reforms merely consist in making greater amounts available, typically for increasing the educational aid.

In the more detailed preparation of the plans for gradual implementation of reforms it will be a decisive question how much extra capital the implementation of each individual reform will require. This must then be carefully balanced against the possibilities of making this capital available. We realize that a much more scrupulous set of priorites is necessary in future than in the 1960s. Precisely for this reason it is important to consider all aspects and stages in the educational system in coherence and in a long-term perspective.

2. Before we try to calculate the amounts triggered off by our proposals for reforms we will define *what we mean by resources* and give an account of what factors in the social development that exert influence on the extent of the resources that can be expected to be made available for educational purposes. It will also be necessary to evaluate possible tendencies towards increased consumption of resources which are already built into the educational system and which must therefore be considered before any decision is taken.

A. What Are the Resources of the Educational System?

3. The measure usually employed for the resource requirement for educational purposes is *the total expenses for the government and the municipalities*. In 1975–76 these expenses amounted to about 15.5 mia Dkr., to which should be added a little more than 1 mia Dkr. in educational grants, payments to pupils, wages for participants in courses, etc., but excluding the loans to students following a course of further education. This total sum corresponds to a little more than 7 per cent of the gross national product. The previous growth in the total amount is briefly mentioned in chapter II.

However, these figures give only a one-sided and incomplete view of the resources used and therefore they constitute no satisfactory basis for a more detailed evaluation of the problems in connection with an expansion and partial reorganization of the total efforts in the educational system.

4. The decisive real resources are *the direct participation of human beings – pupils and teachers and other personnel –* in the educational process as well as the

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application of buildings, materials and equipment of various types.

Individuals over 16 can be employed in production or service trades and an increased participation in the educational system can in principle be considered to mean a reduction in the immediate economic possibilities of our society. The same applies to the application of teachers. The work of the teachers is registered both as a public expense (and thereby an extra tax for the households) and simultaneously as a production (national product), but this is not the case in respect of pupils whose work is not registered as production.

If we have *full employment* in our society the number of teachers and/or pupils can only be increased by reducing employment and production in other sectors. As regards the teachers this loss of production in the national accounts will be offset by an increased production in the educational sector. But when pupils leave a job to participate in this sector only a production loss will be registered because pupils' work in the educational system is, as mentioned, not included as production.

In situations with a high rate of *unemployment* an increase in the number of teachers will bring about a rise in the registered production and employment, and the greater number of pupils – to the extent that they are over 16 – will reduce the supply of labour and thereby also the unemployment. In such a situation with youth unemployment as well as jobless teachers it will therefore be very advantageous to appoint jobless teachers to teach jobless young people; both the human and economic gains of such a system are very big – though difficult to measure. And it is even so that an increased educational effort does not entail a worsening of our balance of payments problems to the same extent as other employment-promoting measures since an increased educational effort results in a relatively small volume of extra imports.

In terms of the public budgets such an increase of the effort entails a decline in the unemployment benefits and a rise in the educational financial aid and the teacher expenses, etc., it also means that the public revenue by way of direct and indirect taxes will go up.

Altogether it will thus be a good policy in the present economic situation with unemployment and balance of payments problems to increase the educational effort rather than for example private consumption and public investments; increased teaching only results in an insignificant strain on our balance of payments as compared with most other forms of resource applications.

5. However, it is not reasonable to base the long-term planning of an increased educational effort solely on this consideration, because it would be irresponsible to exclude the possibility that some time in the 1980s we will have full employment, perhaps even a pressure on the labour market.

In that case the increased resources used for educational purposes will be a strain on the economy as a whole and not only on the public expenditure. It would, however, also be a situation where the Danish society as a whole will be more wealthy than in a situation with a high rate of unemployment; when balancing these two situations against each other it could therefore be said that the average Dane would be better off in the situation with employment and high educational effort than in the situation with unemployment and high educational effort.

We must realize, however, that this balancing is too narrow and will therefore not be accepted by all participants in the political debate. Some, perhaps many, will thus argue that they could obtain an increased private consumption if the educational effort was cut in the situation with ful employment, and they will therefore not want to be precluded from this possibility by accepting now a long-term educational policy which tied increased resources in the educational system for a very long period.

Others would – and in our view justly – attach more weight to the fact that an increased educational effort in the present unemployment situation would be of a very great value for the people who benefitted from it. In the longer term an increased education along the guidelines stated above might contribute both towards strengthening the economic possibilities of the Danish society and towards adding other qualities and values to the society. We therefore find that the economic situation may prompt the carrying through of some reforms as fast as politically possible.

However, we are also aware that the final balancing of the possibilities is one of the central political issues. It is a constantly recurring problem whether to employ more of the society's resources to increase private consumption or to increase investments and services supplied by the public. All we can do is to put our weight into the scale in favour of an increased educational effort by emphasizing its great social significance and by defining more precisely how such an effort can be performed most appropriately in the next 20 years.

B. Built-in Tendencies

6. Among the factors affecting the amount of resources for educational purposes without any new decisions we would mention the following:

The *first* is the size of the *year groups of children and young people* who move into and up through the educational system during the 1990s. Some of these year groups have already been born and we know that they are much smaller than the "large year groups" who in the 1960s passed through the educational system. This appears from the following figures of the average annual births:

from 1941 to 1950	83,300
from 1951 to 1960	76,200
from 1961 to 1970	79,200
from 1971 to 1977	70,300
from 1978 to 1987	70,000 (forecast)

No one can predict with certainty the birth rates in the years to come; the figure for 1978–1987 corresponds to the official forecast based on the condition that the birth rate will not differ much from the one in the first part of the 1970s. The figures indicate that there will be fewer pupils in the primary and lower secondary school up to the year 2000, but are subject to an increasing degree of uncertainty through the 1990s.

The last birth year group, 1977, is now estimated, however, to be about 61,000, that is to say the smallest in the past 100 years; it will leave the lower secondary school in 1993, the post-compulsory education in 1996 and 97 and the courses of further and higher education after the turn of the century. If we experience more years with such low birth rates our freedom of movement will differ materially from that foreseen in the following.

7. *Secondly* it must be expected that the *standard annual working hours* for wage and salary earners will be constantly *reduced*, cf. chapter VII. If this reduction continues by an annual average of ½ per cent, the working hours will in 1990 be a little more than 7 per cent and in 2000 a little more than 12½ per cent shorter than now. With an unchanged number of pupils and unchanged number of lessons for the pupils the overall teaching force should be increased correspondingly. This is properly a minimum. The working hours have been cut more during the last ten years, one reason being that overtime has been stepped down, a development that is not quite finished.

Then the question suggests itself whether also the *number of lessons for pupils* can be reduced in line with the teachers' working hours. If the reduction in the teachers' working hours is carried out, partly in the form of *longer vacations*, it can be expected that also the pupils will get longer vacations, and the demand for teachers would then increase to a smaller extent. For example, two weeks' extra vacation corresponds to a reduction of a little more than 4½ per cent of the annual working hours. But for many families longer vacations mean increased problems concerning the care of their children.

As regards the *shorter weekly working hours* for teachers it is our view that it should not be followed by a corresponding decline in the lessons for pupils as this would make it decidedly more difficult to reach the aims of the school work which we all agree to lay down. On the contrary, we propose that the pupil lessons be increased to make possible the reforms mentioned above.

We then consider it realistic to expect an *increase in the number of teachers* solely by virtue of shorter working hours of up to 7 per cent in 1990 and 10 to 12 per cent in the year 2000.

8. The *next* factor concerns the *age composition of the teachers* in relation to to the present salary scale, according to which teacher salaries are gradually adjusted during the first 15 years. There will be relatively far more teachers at the highest salary step in the 1990s than at present, also even if the total teaching force continues to grow. This alone will entail an increase from 1977 to 1990 in the salary bill for teachers of the order of dkr. 0.5 mia annually in terms of the 1977-salary level in addition to the general increase in salaries, or an increase of the total teacher-salary bill of at least 5 per cent.

9. *Finally*, it is of importance whether the teacher salaries follow the general increase for those employed in the private sector, or whether the tendencies towards educating more teachers at the teacher training colleges and universities, etc. than can hope for an appointment, will lead to some gradual deterioration of the teachers' salaries. A tendency towards such a relative decrease in salaries has manifested itself since 1971; we doubt, however, that it is realistic to expect that this tendency can continue much longer.

10. As regards *the total number of teachers* there are thus two builtin tendencies acting in different directions: the declining number of pupils (at first in the primary school) and the shorter working hours. Even though the two tendencies would offset each other more or less when all the groups of teachers are considered collectively, this does not, however, necessarily apply to the individual subjects or groups of teachers, or in every period. The resource requirements necessitated by our reform proposals and by standard improvements will thus totally presuppose an increase in the number of teachers.

11. The tendencies for *the total public expenditure* on educational purposes will in addition to this also and in particular be influenced by the price and wage trend. The total wage bill – teacher salaries plus wages to the other personnel at the institutions – and grants, etc. amount to about 75 per cent of the total expenses for education, while the rest is used for 'commodity purchases', that is to say operating costs as well as investments in buildings and equipment, etc.

If the relative rates of pay for teachers and other personnel in the educational system up to the year 2000 by and large follow the trend of wages and salaries on the private labour market, and if the balance between wages and profits is not changed, 75 per cent of the expenses for education will follow the increase in the national product. The remaining 25 per cent, on the other hand, will increase at a slower rate because the commodity prices will go up less than wages and salaries – corresponding to the increase in productivity.

As there will no noticeable expansion in the educational system without new initiatives total expenditure on education will therefore increase at a slower rate than the national product.

If, for example, there is an improvement in the real wages and salaries in trade and industry during the next 20 years of a total of 50 per cent (corresponding to an annual increase of a little more than 2 per cent) *total educational expenditure would fall from the present 7 per cent of the national product to 6.5 per cent in 1997*. This gives thus a possibility of gradually increasing the overall educational effort without the overall educational expenditure exceeding 7 per cent of the gross national product. In 1990 the figure would be a total of about 1,150 mio. dkr. and in 2000 about 2,300 mio dkr. in terms of the present commodity prices.

The scope for expanding the educational effort within a limit of 7 per cent would increase at a higher economic growth rate in real earnings than the 2 per cent per year.

12. The fact that all official economic forecasts reckon with a considerable rate of *unemployment* also for the next 3 or 4 years must, however, lead to the conclusion that some of the *desired reforms which bring about an increase in the number of pupils should be accelerated as far as possible.*

One of the important, restricting factors in the short term is the number of teachers, especially as the total teaching force is divided into 5 or 6 groups each having its own limited field of work. According to our proposals it will neither be the primary and lower secondary school nor the long courses of further education that will require more teachers, but in particular pre-school classes, youth education as well as adult education. It may therefore be of importance to a fast implementation of the reforms to obtain a greater degree of flexibility in the application of the various categories of teachers on various fields of work.

Since the long-term planning must also consider that the general employment situation may become more favourable in the second half of the 1980s and thereafter, the educational capacity should not in the long-term be programmed as an employment-promoting measure. Expansive reforms initiated quickly should therefore be considered as a change of level upwards in the overall educational activities, not as a prelude to a long period of relatively strong growth. Therefore the preparation of teachers should not be increased with a view to improving the employment situation.

The other limiting factor is that it is *time consuming to organize the new educational opportunities* which are necessary in particular as regards youth education and adult education. This is not done merely by doubling existing courses.

13. *Knud Øllgaard* and *Erik Tøttrup* concur in the opinion that the educational sector must be expected to increase during the period covered by U-90, but doubt the advisability of using the present unemployment as an additional reason for accelerating the increased effort, or – as expressed by the majority – to initiate a general 'change of level': This will imply that the society binds itself to a development which in a period of better trade conditions would differ from

the one that is most expedient in terms of a plan covering a greater span of years.

We find that instead of a general upward shift in the level it will be more reasonable to try to achieve a more balanced growth and at the same time consider the unemployment as an opportunity of concentrating our efforts on providing educational offers for the unemployed (undoubtedly in many cases those with the shortest education). These offers – being an implement in the labour market policy – should be organized so that the effort may vary with the rate of unemployment.

We point out in particular that a development with a rapid growth in the educational sector presupposes a substantial improvement in our national economy. The political main aim in the year to come must be to prepare the way for somethings like that, and this necessitates for example that on one hand more resources are directed to the producing, especially export-orientated and import-competing part of trade and industry (trades and industries improving our balance of payments). During this process it may be necessary to exercise restraint in respect of an increase in the public services.

C. The Increased Resource Requirements from Reforms

14. In the following we shall point by point discuss the proposals put forward in chapter X with a view to estimating how large an additional requirement of resources they will entail. A number of reforms concerning the content and structure of the courses require, as mentioned, no further resources. Some of the resource demanding proposals cannot be prepared so accurately that an exact statement of the resource requirement can be worked out. The following figures are therefore partly based on an estimate.

a) Pre-school Classes, etc.

We have proposed that all municipalities establish *pre-school classes* for all 6-years olds, supplemented by *social schemes for the care* of a total of 4 year groups of children. The total additional employment of educationalists depends upon how fast and how much these offers are utilized.

If by way of example *it is presupposed that* the current standards, etc. of employment in this field are maintained, *that* the pre-school offer is fully utilized, and *that* the use of the proposed scheme of care corresponds to 40 per cent of the number of children, the result will be an increase in the employment over 1976 of a little more than 6,000 educationalists some of whom will be part-time teacher. To this figure should be added other personnel. This is a very large increase considering that the total number of educationalists is at present about 14,000 of whom about 1,800 (many of whom are part-time teachers) in the pre-school classes. With the current rate of unemployment among educationalists a minor part of the need can be covered quickly.

The annual recruitment of newly graduated educationalists at the present utilization of the capacity at the 22 training colleges will be a little less than 2,000. It must be expected that some of these will replace teachers who leave the system, but there is no experience which can form the basis of an estimate of the size of the retirement in the longer term. Further, some will be appointed within the traditional field of pre-schools and recreation centres where the need is still not covered. Thus, it will be possible to gradually carry out the proposed schemes of care in the course of 5 or 6 years. If the number of children in the schemes is to be increased beyond the 40 per cent, it can hardly be done until some time at the end of the 1980s. It will probably be necessary to change the distribution of the educational capacity in a direction towards comparatively more recreation teachers.

In our statement of the total additional expenses in 1990 entailed by the proposals we have in the following calculated with an extra employment of 6,000 teachers of whom some are part-time teachers. To this should be added other personnel and other operating costs. This should give annual *extra expenses* totalling about *Dkr. 600 mio*, cf. table 12.2. For the next 10 years the annual increase is expected to be insignificant.

b) Primary and Lower Secondary School

We propose to increase the weekly number of lessons in the primary and lower secondary school. One lesson more per week in all forms in the primary and lower secondary school including preschool classes and special classes in the first to the tenth school years, means an additional requirement of 2,150 full-time teachers on condition that this extra lesson triggers off conversion lessons and separate lessons for part of a class, etc. to the usual extent. This figure merely indicates an order that may form the basis of evaluating the resource requirement in respect of possible further increases of the number of lessons for pupils, possibly only for specific age groups.

However, this is offset, as mentioned, by the reduced number of pupils owing to the declining number of births. The effect of this appears from the figures below:

Total number of pupils in the 10 forms of the primary and lower secondary school[1]).

1975–76	743,700
1977–78	735,750
1980–81	722,800
1985–86	666,500
1990–91	650,000
2000–01	675,000

If the distribution of the pupils on year groups is considered the expected decline in the number of pupils of 10 to 13 per cent will entail a reduction in the requirement for teachers of about 6000 full-time teachers.

With an increased number of lessons for the pupils, corresponding to one extra lesson per week, and with a reduction in the working hours of 7 per cent, the net result will be a very limited additional employment in 1990. In the year 2000 the additional employment will amount to a little more than 4000 teachers.

In this figure we have included no other improvements in standards in the primary and lower secondary school, and this will hardly hold true over such a long period of time. For example the declining number of pupils will presumably lead to smaller classes in many schools, and it will be required to step up special education and also to increase other activities concerning other social educational tasks. In the overall statement shown in table 12.2 we have therefore included a framework for standard improvements in the entire educational system.

If the annual intake of students continues to amount to 3,000 at the teacher training colleges and if it is presupposed that the same number of students take their examinations as up to now *the amount of teachers graduating from these colleges* will increase by a total of about 25,000 from 1976 to 1990 and by a further 11,000 or so up to the year 2000. It will thus be expedient to enhance the possibilities of appointing teachers from the teacher training colleges in other fields in the educational system.

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[1]) Including private schools, but excluding pupils in special classes in 1975–76 a total of 17,600. The forecast is based on a population forecast by the National Bureau of Statistics, cf. "Statistiske Efterretninger" 1976, no. 140. It is presupposed that 60 per cent of a year group remains in the 10th form of the lower secondary school in 1985–86 and only 50 per cent in 1990–91 and the years thereafter, while the present figure is about 67 per cent.

c) Youth Education

We propose to expand this education so that from 1990 at the latest there will be provided a minimum of 12-year schooling for everybody – except, however, a group of up to 5 per cent which it will be difficult to maintain in normal of education. Though this group is not included in the ordinary courses of education, it will nevertheless still require relatively high public resources in respect of instruction as well as social measures.

The total requirement of resources owing to the expansion and reorganization of the youth education cannot be definitively assessed. A factor that increases the expenses is that many young people will participate at various places in the system so that in reality they use 13 years or more before they finish their education.

The total gross requirement for places is according to previous experience around 20 per cent higher than the requirement corresponding to a situation in which 95 per cent of all young people get a 12-year schooling. By means of a greatly expanded vocational guidance and guidance in respect of further studies the need for over-capacity can probably be reduced somewhat, but cannot be removed; we find it necessary to maintain a substantial degree of freedom of choice and freedom of movement for the young adults, and the total capacity must be adjusted to this effect.

Another factor that comes decisively into play is whether the expansion predominantly takes place by means of an extensive application of school reforms with many theoretical lessons (as in the upper secondary school and some basic vocational trainings) or whether a comparatively large amount of the three school years is used for traineeships. The shift from apprenticeship to basic vocational training, which has already been decided, involves considerable additional expenses.

With unchanged working hours for teachers and unchanged number of lessons for pupils in the various courses of education and other things being equal it may be estimated that the greater participation in youth education, including those who participate in more than one course, will create a requirement for an increase in the teaching force of between 3,000 and 4,000 full-time teachers. It is presupposed that the majority of the young people spends the three school years in courses with many traineeships. This applies in particular to the intake of the young people who did not get any post-compulsory education before.

The increase in the number of teachers, this necessitates, is both teachers with a university degree, with a vocational examination and teachers from the teacher training colleges.

The total annual *extra expenses* entailed by youth education may then be estimated at a little less than 1 mia dkr. in 1990 as well as in 2,000 when the small year groups manifest themselves more strongly, cf. table 12.2. To this figure extra expenses should undoubtedly be added, stemming from various forms of standard improvements, including a better geographical coverage.

Tho total growth in the number of pupils may be estimated at *50 – 60,000* in 1990 (distributed on three years groups). It is this figure that is important for the recruitment to the labour market.

It will not be possible in advance to determine the dimensioning of the courses of education in various vocational fields and trades, etc. The efforts of giving wider and more general qualifications will have the result that it becomes less important for the employment openings of the young people what line they have chosen. Besides, the planning must in this field currently be adjusted to the needs of trade and industry and the society.

d) Courses of Further Education

As regards the medium – and long-term courses of further education no additional need is expected to arise for more teachers in the longer term if the rules governing their work, etc. are not changed. The reduction in the working hours means an additional employment of 600 to 900 full-time teachers, cf. table 12.2.

Provided that the total annual intake is maintained at the present level of about 23,000, the number of students will continue to increase somewhat, from the current level of a total of about 98,000 to a little more than 100,000 in the mid-1980s. The possibilities of reducing this number and thereby also total expenses in the following years depend inter alia upon whether it is possible to shorten the courses of education, partly by a better organization of the studies, partly by giving shorter and medium-term courses a greater weight within further education.

The number of students who take their degrees is at present very low at a number of courses, far below 50 per cent. This applies especially to the cheapest university courses. If this number can be increased the number of graduates will go up which makes it more difficult to get a job. It might therefore lead to a tightening of the admission to the long courses of further education with a corresponding increase of the short courses of further education having another aim.

The resource requirement in the long courses will also be influenced by the shifts between the expensive and cheap long courses, as for example the natural sciences and the social sciences respectively. Our calculations only expect a modest shift towards the relatively expensive technical and natural science courses; the calculations do not allow for standard improvements within the individual courses.

Most of the *short courses of further education* have numerus clausus at present. There is a need for initiating new short courses of further education aiming at the many new employment openings entailed by the development.

Statistically it is difficult to define the short courses of further education in relation to the youth education.

In youth education we have thus included about 4,000 from technical schools and commercial schools and about 17,500 pupils from the courses within the social and health sector which rather are short courses of further education. In the courses of further education we have included a little more than 9,000 students of whom about 6,500 are part-time students from short courses of further education. Finally, there is a small group of short courses of further education, mainly for part-time students, about which no statistical information is available; the number of participants in these courses is estimated at 2,000–4,000.

The need for more teachers in the short courses of further education is roughly estimated at around 500, corresponding to annual additional expenses of some *100 mio Dkr.* both in 1990 and 2000, cf. table 12.2.

e) Adult Education

As the need for teachers in adult education varies very much it is difficult to point out specific needs in respect of training of teachers.

The connection between number of pupils and number of teachers is poorly illustrated, one reason being the huge number of different courses. Our estimate of the number of full-time teachers within the entire field is therefore based on the total public expenditure on adult educa-

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Table 12.1.

Public expenditure on adult education, etc. 1975–76.

	Number of places[1]	Full-time teachers[2]	Public expenditure[3] Mio Dkr.
Courses aimed at government services[4] ...	18,000	150	200
Courses aimed at the labour market	67,000	800	160
Courses aimed at trade and industry[5]	70,000	600	95
Leisure-time courses preparing for an examination	90,000	1,030	130
High schools, etc.	16,000	2,700	500
University extension	28,000	20	3
Other leisure-time courses	1,100,000	2,200	310
Total	–	7,500	1,398

[1] Number of utilized courseplaces 1976-77. In some cases this exceeds considerably the number of persons taking part in the lessons, because one can attend several courses and thus be included several times.

[2] Estimated, cf. the text.

[3] Excluding payments to pupils which totalled 170 mio Dkr. solely for the courses aimed at the labour market.

[4] Some of these are rather short courses of further education.

[5] At commercial schools and technical schools.

Source: Material from the economic-statistical office in the Ministry of Education.

tion and our evaluation of the sum which is used for teacher salaries.

The total public expenditure on adult education (excluding payments to pupils and compensation for loss of earnings) amounted in 1975–76 to around Dkr. 1.5 mia and the number of full-time teachers may on this basis be estimated at about 7,500, cf. table 12.1.

The considerable expenses in private undertakings, associations, etc. are not known, nor the total number of teachers.

A strong and rapid development in adult education should in our opinion especially be for the benefit of those with a short education. A comparatively rapid increase of the total number of teachers by 2,000 full-time teachers would give very good possibilities. In the period following the 1990s the expansion could be continued, but at a slower rate.

The total public additional expenses for adult education up to 1990 are estimated at about *Dkr. 350 per year* and in the year 2000 at about Dkr. 600 mio. To this figure should be added payments to pupils in the form of compensation for loss of earnings when educating a large number of young people with a short education in their normal working hours. The total expenses for this exceed several times the educational expenses, but will in a period of unemployment to a great extent be offset by the need for unemployment benefits.

15. **Investments in Buildings, etc.**

The total annual expenditure on new building, rebuilding, maintenance and equipment, etc. have been on a very high level during a number of years as a consequence of the strong expansion and modernization of the courses of education. In the 1960s there was a building boom for the youth education and the courses of further education. However, the primary and lower secondary school was and still is the sector within the educational system that requires most funds, a little more than 50 per cent of the total annual investment. For 1977 it is estimated at Dkr. 2.1 mia.

If no reforms were carried out the tendency for the coming years would clearly be towards a declining need for investments. The falling number of pupils in the primary and lower secondary school and the stagnating number of students in further education constitute the two most pronounced features. Thus, within an annual investment limit of Dkr. 2 mia funds would be available for a rather comprehensive building program in order to implement the proposals for an extension of the youth education so as to comprise everybody in the 10th to 12th school years, and also the increased adult education, part of which can presumably take place in existing buildings. One of the purposes of the expansion is to spread geographically the opportunities. Also rebuildings and modernization of existing primary schools with a view to the proposed educational reforms – rooms and areas for the more vocationaly slanted instruction as well as canteens and recreation rooms – seem possible within this investment limit.

Since three-fourths of the building activities are controlled by the municipalities and the counties it is decisive that clear guide lines are given on the desired expansion. On this condition it should pose no difficulties in keeping total investments within Dkr. 2 mia per year. Therefore, we have not calculated with any additional expenses for building, etc. in connection with the implementation of the reforms.

16. The total increase in the number of full-time teachers owing to the proposed reforms may then be estimated at about 20,000 in 1990 and about 30,000 in the year 2000. To this should be added the increase in the number of other personnel. These figures include standard improvements in the entire system, for example fewer pupils per class. The total public additional expenditure on salaries and other operating costs may then be estimated at from 3.5 to 4 mia Dkr. in 1990 and from 5 to 5.5 mia in the year 2000, cf. table 12.2.

17. **State Educational Aid, etc.**
Considerable extra expenses will be necessary partly because the present aid rates are not satisfactory, partly because our proposals entail that larger groups of pupils are to be supported financially in the coming years. Especially the increased adult education opportunity for those with a short education will trigger off huge additional expenses for compensation for loss of earnings.

18. Together with the mentioned extra expenses on salaries and other operating costs the total annual additional expenditure will thus be in the range of 3 to 4 mia Dkr. at the beginning of the 1990s and in the range of 5 to 6 mia. Dkr. around the year 2000. These figures are very high measured by the present educational budgets. But with a growth in the national product of at least 2 per cent per year these extra expenses will not bring the total public educational expenses, including research at the courses of further education, above 8 per cent of the gross national product. At a lower growth in the production it must be taken into consideration that a very large amount of the extra expenses will be offset by smaller expenses for unemployment benefits. To these figures should be added an additional expenditure on increased state educational aid and payments to pupils, in particular for the adult education; we have abstained from making any estimates of this.

Table 12.2. Survey of the estimated consequenses in terms of resources in 1990 and 2000 of the built-in tendencies and the reform proposals. Number of full-time teachers and mio Dkr. in terms of 1975 prices and salaries.

	1975	1990		2000	
	Number of teachers	Increased demand for teachers	Increase in total operat. costs	Increased demand for teachers	Increase in total operat. costs
	Full-time teachers	Full-time teachers	Mio Dkr.	Full-time teachers	Mio Dkr.
Pre-school classes and leisure-time schemes	1,770[1][2]	5,000	600	7,000	850
Primary school	53,820[1]	150	25	4,200	625
Declining number of pupils	–	÷6,000	÷ 900	÷6,000	÷ 900
General cut in teachers' working hours	–	4,000	600	7,000	1,050
Increased numb. of lessons	–	2,150	325	3,200	475
Youth education	9,370	4,600	850	4,750	880
12-year education for all	–	3,600	665	3,600	665
Declinning birth rates	–	–	–	÷ 600	÷ 110
General cut in teachers' working hours	–	1,000	185	1,250	325
Curses of further education	7,880	600	180	900	270
General cut in teachers' working hours	–	600	180	900	270
Short courses of further education	– [3]	500	100	500	100
Adult education	7,500[4]	2,000	350	3,500	600
Reduced working hours	–	500	85	900	150
Teachers' changed age composition	–	–	500	–	500
Standard improvements[5]		4–7,000	625–1,100	6–10,000	950–1,575
Total	80,340	17,750–20,350	3,315–3,790	27,750–31,750	4,925–5,550
Investments	–	–	0	–	0
State educational aid	–	–	?	–	?

[1] Number of teachers.

[2] Comprises solely pre-school heads and teachers employed during a vacancy in the pre-school classes; there is no available information on the personnel requirement at the leisure-time schemes within the primary school.

[3] The teacher requirement in these courses of education is included as a part of the number of teachers in youth education, further education and adult education.

[4] Estimated number of full-time teachers.

[5] Comprises not definitively specified or allocated standard improvements for pupils and teachers, reorganization of the teachers' working hours, etc.

19. *Knud Øllgaard* and *Erik Tøttrup* point out that in the months to come the CCE has been assigned the task of considering the financial situation of all the students and pupils and of making a proposal for a coherent policy. We therefore find it inappropriate that the majority – before the necessary investigations have been carried out and the results have been discussed – stick to a single point, viz. the support to the adults.

We find that at present the CCE should restrict itself to state that to all appearances increased funds will be required.

Chapter XIII

U-90 as Part of the Planning

1. The preparation of U-90 has taken a little more than 2½ years and during this period it has passed through various well-defined stages and has involved a co-operation to many sides.

In the autumn of 1975 "Report on the work at a complete education plan to be valid up to 1990" (171 pages) was worked out as the first stage, and this report was handed over to the Minister of Education at the beginning of December and published in January 1976. The report has been published in many copies and has been the subject of much debate, inter alia in a large number of professional journals. This debate has given the CCE many impulses of importance for its continued work.

As a more precisely defined basis of the organization of the work in the following stages the CCE agreed in February 1976 on a detailed *working plan* which comprised an outline for the final report as well as preliminary dead-line for the work at the individual sections. It also mentioned parties with whom a co-operation should be sought. The working plan, which was revised as the work made progress, formed the link between all participants in the work at U-90.

2. It was an important point in the preliminary report that the CCE should try to establish a *co-operation with the education research workers* in order to utilize already existing research results and if possible initiate new research which might be important to the preparation of U-90.

As a first step towards this the CCE contacted most of the research institutions at a number of meetings in March – May 1976; they expressed great interest in such a co-operation and gave an account of current and planned research projects.[1] Several of the institutions worked out extensive written surveys about this.

The next step was a conference held by the CCE on June 24 and 25, 1976, at Kollekolle with participation of 40 research workers representing 11 different institutions and the Research Secretariat. The discussions centered on 6 main themes from the working plan and on the possibilities of establishing a more concrete co-operation on problems in U-90. It appeared that the results of possible new investigations would hardly be available in time to influence the preparation of U-90 owing to the time factor. On the other hand, the results from investigations already carried out might be of interest. A detailed summary was published in September 1976 and sent to all the interested parties at the research institutions.[2]

In the subsequent work the CCE has established direct connections with a number of individuals at the research institutions, who have either participated in group work on specific parts of U-90 and/or have worked out written reports as the basis for the work. These contributions were reprinted in volume II under the names of the research workers in question.

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[1] These were especially the universities, the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies, the Danish Institute of Educational Research and the Danish National Institute of Social Research.

[2] Summary of the conference on research and U-90 held by the Central Council of Education on June 24 and 25, 1976, at Kollekolle. 150 pages.

Though the CCE has thus received a number of contributions and valuable assistance from the research workers, the expectations on a close co-operation, which were present in the initial phase in the CCE as well as the research workers, were not completely fulfilled. We have therefore found it natural to consider why things turned out as they did and how the research workers can be involved to a greater extent in the future planning work. This is mentioned in more details below.

3. A co-operation was established with the OECD as a special aspect of the work at U-90. It is a permanent part of the OECD's activities on the educational field to prepare in a fixed order reports on the educational situation in the individual member countries, and when Denmark was next in turn in the autumn of 1975 it was agreed that the 'country-report' on Denmark should focus on U-90. The OECD appointed an expert group who during a visit to Copenhagen early in 1977 had a number of discussions with members of the CCE, civil servants from the Ministry of Education and representatives from the organizations, and who then prepared a preliminary report on their impression and evaluation of the work at U-90.[3]

The OECD group intends to visit Denmark in the early summer of 1978 and will then prepare the final report, which will be submitted to the OECD's educational committee for information and debate at the end of 1978.

4. It has been an important part of the work at U-90 to keep in touch with the four *sector councils* for the primary and lower secondary school, the post-compulsory education, the courses of further education and the youth and adult education respectively. The sector councils are not sub-committees of the Central Council of Education, but independent advisory bodies to the Minister of Education and the respective directorates; however, it was a clear condition that the sector councils each on its own field should assist the CCE in the work at U-90. The chairmen of the sector councils are members of the CCE and have thus been able to ensure the co-ordination. To get a firmer basis of the co-operation the CCE formulated in the late summer and autumn of 1976 a number of questions to each sector council, requesting a reply before June 1977. The reports prepared by the sector councils have been thoroughly discussed in the CCE and have influenced the preparation of our proposals, in particular in chapter X. Some of the contributions from the sector councils have been published independently.

5. Right from the outset the CCE has – in full agreement with the intentions of the Minister of Education – found it very important that the problems of U-90 were discussed in wide circles, and the work at U-90 has all along been put on the agenda at a large number of conferences and meetings concerning educational political questions.

The publication of U-90 is not intended to be the end of this debate. On the contrary, we find it of paramount importance that U-90 continues to be discussed in wide circles, and especially among the participants in the educational system.

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[3] Published in the periodical *Uddannelse* (education), no 8 Sept. 1977. The expert group was made up by *dr. Philiph Austen*, Office of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, Professor, Lord *Asa Briggs*, University of Oxford and Staatssekretär, Professor *Reimut Jochimsen*, Bonn, and dr. *John Lowe* from the Secretariat of the OECD.

U-90 may serve as a basis for the educational political debate at the formal political level – the government, the political parties and the Folketing – as well as the current planning in the Ministry of Education and also in other ministries and for a future closer co-operation between the planners and the education research workers.

6. Now that the CCE delivers U-90 to the Minister of Education, the further initiatives must, however, in the next stage come from the Minister and the Ministry, and we shall therefore refrain from commenting on the further political treatment of the view points and proposals set out in U-90. On the other hand, we find it natural to express our view on the continued planning work and on the co-operation with the education research workers. We emphasize, however, that the political treatment in the government and the political parties must necessarily be decisive for all of the other follow-up work.

7. The next stages in the planning work cannot be commenced until more detailed political directives are available. This must include a further working-up of the ideas and proposals set forth in U-90 so that they can materialize to concrete plans and operational measures such as laws, ministerial orders, and guidances, initial and operating grants and negotiations in this respect, with the counties and municipalities as well as the many organizations in the educational system.

It is a many-sided planning extending from the educational questions over administrative and organizational changes to the problem of the final and concrete priority of the resources made available for educational purposes by the public.

As appears clearly from the preceding chapter a number of our reforms will require increased resources, and this is one of the reasons why the development must take place in steps. It is not up to us to decide the pace of the development, and it would seem impossible to decide this once and for all and such a decision cannot be taken solely from educational political premises. The further planning must therefore be included as a part of a greater whole of the public planning and must, along the way, be adapted to the general development of our economy and society.

The central organization of this work will have a clearly political nature, and it cannot be done in any way other than under the direct responsibility of the Minister. The Central Council of Education will continue to give assistance in these stages, but a body such as the CCE made up of representatives from so many different parties and which functions so slowly, cannot attend to any administrative tasks, nor was this the idea of establishing the CCE. The central role in the practical work must naturally rest with the planning department in the Ministry. The department which has assisted the CCE in the preparation of U-90, was created a couple of years ago precisely to gather up the threads in the Ministry's overall planning, and the department can be said to have got a good starting point for this with U-90.

U-90 will be the natural frame of reference for the coming years' more piecemeal and clear and definite planning work and for the closer co-operation in this respect with the other departments and institutions of the Ministry and also with the organizations.

As regards the primary and lower secondary school, the leisure time education, higher preparatory education (HF) and the upper secondary school there has already been established a framework for a *consecutive planning* with time horizon of 12 years, while no fixed, organizational framework has been provided for the other fields. It must be anticipated that this work will give rise to periodical overall surveys of for example expected initial and operating expenses within the educational field. Likewise, it must be anticipated that at suitable intervals surveys will be prepared in respect of other sides, such as structure, capacity and content at the various fields of education.

We believe that it may be an important part of the CCE's future activities that the CCE examines and evaluates at suitable intervals the current planning work in the light of the general development and also the educational political debate among the participants of the educational system. A fixed annual examination would undoubtedly be inappropriate, while a revision and evaluation at an interval of three to four years seems more reasonable.

This requires that the discussions in the sector councils are carefully communicated to the CCE.

In this way it will be possible to establish an interplay of the work in the councils of education and in the department and directorates of the Ministry of Education.

To ensure innovations and new thinking mechanisms must be organized which ensure that developments in other countries and within the field of research are included as factors in the analyses.

8. *Knud Øllgaard* and *Erik Tøttrup* find that U-90 is too inadequate to form the basis for the coming years' operational measures. We are aware that also the majority looks forward to a future political evaluation that may contribute towards clarifying the framework for the coming work. We find, however, that it is not unlikely that the political corrections may be of such a comprehensive nature that it becomes necessary to reconsider U-90. In support of this we refer to our comments at the end of chapter IX, A more equaly oriented educational policy. As stated in this chapter U-90 bases its proposals on the political regard for equality to such an extent that other regards – which are just as justified – have receded too much into the background.

9. An important part of this will be various forms of *experimental education* followed up by a careful evaluation and discussion of the experience acquired. It has been a weakness of many previous school experiments that such a follow-up has not taken place.

Chapter X sets forth a number of examples showing where experiments could be carried out. It will be natural that all information on the result of such experiments is communicated to the CCE, and that the CCE in co-operation with the sector councils takes part in the final evaluation of the results. This too, presupposes a close co-operation with the current planning in the department.

10. Finally, a closer co-operation with the *education research workers* will be of very great importance. Such a co-operation will not necessarily presuppose further grants to research on education, since it will be possible to a high degree to establish it on the basis of the existing quite comprehensive research capacity. A prerequisite of this is undoubtedly various organizational innovations.

The first prerequisite is a current contact from the councils of education and the ministry to the research workers. It is both a question of *formulating* the problems to be investigated and of explaining to the research workers the planning connection in which the problems have arisen, and of *receiving* results and feed-back from the research workers. Such a function has inter alia been missing in the co-operation between the CCE and the research workers; it must be placed in the planning department and be the responsibility of a group of highly qualified employees including scientifically qualified ones, who concurrently can attend to other tasks. It will be natural that also the CCE follows this work, if necessary by means of a special subcommittee.

The second prerequisite is that the *research workers* are interested in and have the necessary resources to perform the tasks considered to be important. The carrying out of many tasks will require the establishment of a team of research workers inter alia of an inter-disciplinary character, including co-operation between research workers at various institutions. Though such a method of work is employed in separate cases it is still unusual within the field of research. However, efforts are being made to clear the financial and structural obstacles to such a co-operation, including the possibility of making elucidative work attractive.

Most research projects are very *time consuming* that is to say two, three or four years. This means that the research workers already engaged in a project cannot right away be set free for participation in another project necessitated by the planning. Moreover, it means that the planners must reckon with a period of a couple of years before their questions are answered. Therefore it is all the more important that research projects are prepared and put to the research workers in an early stage of the planning. This will undoubtedly be difficult, and it will therefore mainly be in the very long-term planning that research assistance can be of great value.

The third and final prerequisite is that a number of *problems of communication and understanding* between the planners of the Ministry and the research workers is solved. The two groups do not speak the same language and their way of thinking differs too. Usually it is necessary to rephrase research projects formulated by civil servants from the ministries so as to make them intelligible for the research worker or workers who are to carry out the projects. The final wording must therefore be prepared in co-operation with the research workers who are to carry out the project in question. Correspondingly, it can often be difficult for the planners to interpret the results put forward by the research workers and to evaluate the possibilities of application.

The practical solution to these difficulties of communication is presumably to establish a *current contact and dialogue*.

11. *Erik Ib Schmidt, Knud Erik Larsen, Knud Øllgaard, Inge Thygesen, Holger Knudsen, Kai Varming, Helge Larsen, Jørgen Hesseldahl, Finn Thorgrimson, Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen* and *Erik Tøttrup* find that the current contact can expediently be provided in the following ways:

A contact committee is established, in which representatives from the ministry, the CCE, sector councils as well as the research institutions meet at regular intervals to lay down guide lines for the co-operation and to propose the practical organization of it.

It is attempted to create broader contacts by holding regular *meetings which focus on subjects* and have a broader participation, a kind of seminars, where various subjects being of importance for the planning are put on the agenda. Here the research workers may for information and debate submit results of investigations carried out by themselves or research workers abroad, or the planners may give an account of the tasks they are working on and the research problems derivable from these. The participants of such contact meetings would of course vary somewhat according to the subjects.

Finally, the contact committees could at intervals organize more comprehensive *conferences* to discuss special subjects.

An effect of this will be a better understanding between the planners and the research workers, and also that it will be possible to formulate and initiate relevant research projects at an earlier planning stage than now. A further effect will be that the various education research workers get in touch with each other, which seems to be required.

A quite general prerequisite of a fruitful co-operation between educational planning and educational research is of course that on the part of the planners there is a real interest in having the problems elucidated in all their aspects by the research workers. It is necessary to realize that from time to time the outcome will differ widely from the expected one.

12. Some of the statements put forward in U-90 – unanimously by the parties or by a minority or a majority – are not based on investigations and research, but on general experience and belief that such are the facts. In many cases the statements are political, that is to say convictions based on specific standards of value. We have often felt that we did not have any other basis for our statements because no accurate statistics were available nor satisfactory explanations.

We look forward to the day when U-90 can form the basis for the further debate and lead to statements for and against the views put forward so that U-90 may become a tool in the further planning.

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Chapter XIV

Summary

This chapter is not intended to be a systematic summary of everything that has been discussed in the preceding chapters, but only as a summary of the most important recommendations in the U-90.

Many interests and viewpoints are represented in the CCE, and as a consequence of this we do not agree on everything. This summary is based on the opinions on which the majority can largely agree.

At several points in the body of the report individual members – including members supporting the majority view – have expressed diverging opinions concerning specific issues. A list of these minority statements will be found on page 207.

The following 4 minority statements contain more comprehensive differences of opinion. A short summary of these statements will be found immediately following the summary prepared by the majority.

1. Our main point of view is that the school and the courses of education are central elements of society, and the educational policy will thus also become an important element in all endeavours to change society.

Any society is based on the principle that *experience achieved is passed on to the following generation*. This applies to knowledge and skills of importance for production as well as the underlying social patterns, ethics, and outlook, and it applies to the principles of decision-making and government.

Education may provide an improved basis for finding one's bearings, for taking a position on issues, and for choosing among the wide variety of opportunities.

2. Science and technology have not only changed the material conditions of life and created a far higher standard of living for all groups in society, but they have also had powerful influence on community life, family life, and leisure life. Economic growth has its drawbacks in the form of hard conditions of work, a deterioration of exterior environments, and important changes in the situation of the individual with the consequent insecurity and alienation.

Teaching and education is a prerequisite for creating improved material conditions, and may also contribute towards *enabling the young people to exert an influence* on the situation in which they are to live and to work.

3. *But the school is also to be a place where it is good to be.* A large part of the life of a child is spent at school and must offer valuable experiences when the child is together with his or her comrades and teachers, and through a continuous interaction with the life outside the school.

The small community unit in which the children previously grew up with the home as the sheet anchor has partly been broken up. Children generally lack contact with the life of the parents at their place of work, and the community and leisure life the parents participate in. *The isolation of the school with regard to all the things that take place outside the classroom* should be broken up to remedy this development.

4. Education must contribute towards *creating well-rounded personalities' who can act in all situations in life*. It is not sufficient that the young people are educated in a number of specialized fields, or that they get a qualification to manage some type of job in trade and industry. Education should be seen in relation to what people need in the *family life, leisure life, working life*, and *community life*. By this we do not imply that each of these aspects of human life are to be dealt with separately; on the contrary we would like to stress through this that education is not one-sidedly a question of preparing for participation in working life, and at the same time we would like to give the much-debated issues of the general matters or general education an injection of practicality. The more so as it is to a wide extent the same qualifications, traits, and attitudes a human being will need in all 4 lives.

An element of this is that young people know the situation for other groups in society and learn to understand why others speak and think differently.

5. *Respect for the individual and his dignity is a basic ideal* which ought to pervade the school. We realize that this is partly an unattainable goal in a world characterized by violence, terror, and oppression. Nevertheless, the school should make efforts to imprint kindness, openness, and consideration for others on the pupils, and it should counteract all tendencies to violence and injustice. This could for instance be done by making the conflicts in society and the circumstances fostering violence and crime the objects of open debate in school.

6. *Solidarity* with the group one belongs to is valuable. But group solidarity should always be balanced as regards the consideration for the individual as well as the wider social context. One of the most important aims in our democratic society is that the school imprints loyalty to the basic principles of society on the children, and that it *contributes to keeping society together*. The school cannot take a neutral stance in this respect.

This must not result in regimentation or conformity. The school and the subsequent education should not give an idealized picture of society and should not hide or blurr the differences and conflicts characterizing the Danish as well as the other societies in the world. It is necessary for the young people to know the realities of this world with all their good and bad qualities, but it is equally important that they learn to understand that you can actually do something about it. Solidarity with the community is necessary as a basis for criticism and debate on reforms.

7. *Politics is an essential dimension of life in a democratic society*. The educational system should open up the political world to children and young people. The actual political differences of opinion and the conflicting interests should be discussed with the young people, and they should learn to see through empty phrases and nebulous talk, and to assess the content of noble phrases.

It is difficult to find the balance between indoctrination and the development of a critical attitude and the ability to take an independent attitude. The individual teacher should be aware of the possibility of influencing implied by his position and authority as a teacher. It is not acceptable that the teachers should one-sidedly push their own values and criticisms on students and pupils. It is also an illusion that the teacher should have a purely neutral attitude of 'pro & con'. The teacher should not repress, but build on his own personality and involvement, but at the same time he should be loyal to the chief aims of the school. The role of the teacher is a difficult balance act, and the politically responsible bodies should have the courage to provide a liberal and not too narrow framework within which the individual teacher can be perfectly free to work.

8. We consider it to be a basic principle that *nobody who is physically and mentally able to work should be allowed to leave the educational system without having a basis for the participation in working life*. But the qualification for working life – vocational qualification – must have such a wide scope that several opportunities open up for each individual person to acquire a position on the labour market, and if required to change jobs.

The business enterprises and trade and industry have great influence on the requirements as to qualifications – but as a rule it is based on a very narrow aim. Society should therefore have the decisive say. This also applies to the provision of the required number of traineeships.

Work is necessary to ensure the material basis of life, but it is furthermore *a value in its own right*. Work executed at the instruction of others and without the possibility of changing the working methods and working tempo, and without a possibility of assessing the result will seldom provide pleasure.

The school can qualify pupils for solving tasks, but education can furthermore teach young people and adults to participate in the planning of the work in order to create a better atmosphere and healthy working environments.

9. We consider *more equality of educational opportunity* to be a central issue. In many respects it is difficult to realize this in a society characterized by large inequalities as regards standard of living, social position, influence, and cultural status.

Educational policy can do its share towards reducing or removing inequalities and discrimination. A basic prerequisite is that everybody is offered the same opportunities, and that everybody gets a chance to make use of these opportunities. This may require additional efforts in respect to the handicapped and other disadvantaged.

The Danish school system has gone a long way towards avoiding streaming at an early stage and a sorting of the children, and towards removing external barriers to equality. But a great deal more can be done.

Our target is that the educational system will be designed to offer such favourable and varied opportunities that *all persons will complete 12 years – and later 13 – of schooling or training on a voluntary basis.*

Full equality of educational opportunity cannot be realized within further and higher education, but there should be equal opportunities for everyone and principles and attitudes characterized by equality should be aspects of education all the way through the courses. The elitist characteristics of many theoretical specialist courses should be removed.

A. A Plan for Reforms

10. The question could be asked: how would we design the Danish educational system if we had a free play and were able to design the system we found to be best suited, on the basis of the targets set for people in the society we would like to see realized in the 1990s? Such an intellectual experiment could perhaps result in a system that is quite different from the present one.

But we simply cannot start from scratch and design a new system just like that. We are bound by a number of circumstances and considerations. This applies to the system of productive industry, ownership, the distribution of power, the pattern of consumption, urban and housing structures, etc. It also applies to circumstances in the educational system, such as teaching traditions, textbooks, school buildings, etc., and not least the existing teacher force. Our own conceptions of what we can do and how we do it are also bound by the conditions under which we live and work.

We consider it to be necessary to build on the existing basis and gradually try to change it in the desired direction.

This is in full agreement with the basic view that *the development is to take place in a democratic way so that the wishes and initiatives of the pupils and the parents, the teachers and the 'consumers' can be voiced and influence the development.*

Attempts at remodelling the entire educational system on the basis of some theoretical model prepared in advance which has not been developed and tested in practice, are not only at variance with the principles of co-determination, but would to all appearances create uncertainty and disapproval, and could easily lead to a blocking of further progress. The dilemma of all reform policies is that the targets can be set so high that they will not meet with general approval, and as a result of this the reform work will come to a standstill. The second risk is that the targets are set so low that they will in fact meet with general approval – but they will not lead anywhere.

The majority has tried to find the balance between these considerations, and we believe that the proposals that we make are suitable points of departure for the endeavours over the coming 15-year period to create an educational system that makes allowance for the needs and interests of the population.

B. The Teaching Aspect

11. The tradition characterizing the entire educational system, according to which the timetable is divided into subjects and theoretical and practical subjects are kept apart, should be replaced by endeavours to connect the issues. Co-operation between the subjects (interdisciplinary), and the combination of subjects – as well as the work with the problems cutting across the traditional subject patterns – will therefore become important elements in the teaching of tomorrow.

Regular assessments are useful elements in pedagogical work, both for teachers and pupils.

Examinations and markings in the primary and lower secondary school should be designed and used in such a way that not too much importance is attached to actual achievements, and in such a way that they will reflect to a higher extent the daily process of teaching. A re-assessment of the need for a continued application of tests and examinations should take place if all pupils complete a course lasting 12 years.

12. It is of prime importance that education and teaching are not solely or predominantly based on words – written or spoken – *but that words and theory are combined through manual work, through actions, co-operation, and emotions.*

Furthermore, it is important that teaching creates a connection with the sum of experience of the individual person. General knowledge becomes more important by being related to the concrete knowledge of the individual, and many skills are best learned in connection with the practical tasks which all persons are constantly faced with.

We therefore attach importance to working methods which activate the participants at all educational levels – be it aesthetic or bodily activities or theoretical problem-solving. The aesthetic and creative activities are to be pursued in all subjects, and not only in a few special lessons.

The work with practical pursuits is an important tool for increased knowledge, and the individual should learn to learn at his own initiative – from his own experience as well as from that of others.

For the young people *trainee service* is furthermore a means to acquire knowledge of the working life in trade and industry. *Group work* is important in order to learn to co-operate, and *education for participation in a democratic society* can only be achieved in co-operation with others. *Student participation in the steering processes in the school* is an important element of democratic education.

The school also has an educative function. No education can avoid influencing attitudes and behaviour. This function is to a wide extent unconscious, and people do not really realize how important it is. *The hidden curricula – as they have been called – should be brought to light and assessed critically* on the basis of the main aims of the educational system of tomorrow.

13. Nobody can in the course of 12 years of education acquire more than a fraction of the knowledge that is required later on in life, and consequently *it is important for everybody to return to the educational system at some time* – but it is even more important *to be able to acquire skills and knowledge at your own initiative.* Radio and TV have opened up important prospects in this field.

We propose that a special report be made on the role which radio and TV have acquired in the imparting of knowledge and attitudes, and the repercussions this has on the work of the school.

C. Proposals on Structure

14. The more extensive proposals on innovation or remodelling and expansion apply in particular to 3 sectors of the total system:

- *the start at school*
- *post-compulsory education and*
- *adult education.*

To this we add clear wishes for an expansion and an integration of the entire complicated system governing *educational aid* and *payment to pupils for lost wages* at present in force, and other payments to people attending a course of study. The Minister of Education has requested us to make a more detailed survey of this field, and consequently we will not make any concrete proposals or recommendations in this respect.

The following is a step by step summary of our proposals.

15. Our proposals concerning *the start at school* applies to the first stage of development, namely an expansion at the beginning of the 1980s of *pre-school classes in all municipalities in the country,* an approximation of the working methods in the pre-school classes and the lowest forms at school. This aims at a smoother transition to the school, and more equal conditions at the start at school for all.

As the second state we find that education should become compulsory from the day the child attains the age of 6, and that this should be carried through in the latter part of the 1980s.

To this we add proposals on an expansion of *the provision of leisure-time schemes* for 6 to 9-year-old children. Such leisure-time schemes, which to a wide extent could be organized in the school buildings, are not only going to be schemes for the supervision of children, but they also have to have a developing and stimulating content.

The CCE members cannot agree whether these schemes should be free of charge for all, such as are the pre-school classes.

16. Concerning *the primary and lower secondary school* we make a number of proposals which continues present trends and utilizes the opportunities for development laid down in the new Primary and

Lower Secondary School Act which entered into force in 1977.

The most important ideas for reforms are:

- to soften the rigid timetable, which at present is divided into subjects and lessons,
- to soften the boundaries between the subjects,
- teaching which to a higher extent uses as its basis down-to-earth topics within the sum of experience of the children,
- increased importance should be attached to creative, aesthetic, and bodily activities,
- improved contact between the school and the surrounding community, not least the home, trade and industry, and organizations, and utilization of these contacts in the teaching,
- more lessons a week.

17. We would like to make the following proposals concerning the expansion of *youth education* (post-compulsory) immediately following the 9th or 10th forms of the primary and lower secondary school.

- By 1990 at the latest there should be sufficiently many and sufficiently attractive offers comprising all of the 16 to 19-year-olds. After 1990 the residual group should be a thing of the past for the young generations.
- At that time everybody should have an opportunity of completing a minimum of 12 years of schooling or training. Everybody is to have vocational qualifications or academic qualification enabling the young person to continue in a course of further training or education without interruption.
- Nobody is to get a purely vocational qualification that is so narrow that it only qualifies for a special job; everybody is to have a broader and general vocational qualification.
- No course of youth education should only give a vocational qualification or a academic qualification aiming at a course of further and higher education. All young people are to have a continuous and all-round development aiming at family life, working life, leisure life, and community life.
- We do not want to have a compulsory system, and neither do we want to have a rigid unified system or specified models, because it is our opinion that there is to be room for development of new opportunities, and because we want to maintain a wide spectrum of offers providing a change for the young people to find the course that suits them. At the same time there should be room for the free schools.

  But we recommend a greater connection between the various types of schools than at present, so that existing barriers are removed and as a result there will be possibilities of transition for the ones who want to change courses in the process.
- Especially at this level it will be necessary to have an *improved educational aid scheme,* so that the financially disadvantaged are not left in the lurch.
- Development work and experiments should take place both at local and central initiative.

18. *The long and the medium-term courses of further and higher education* have expanded so vigorously over the last 15 years that continued expansion does not seem to be required. The development in the labour market must be followed constantly with a view to avoiding that more are educated than there are jobs for.

We recommend that efforts are made to create possibilities for leaving the educational system earlier at predetermined stages, so that courses can be concluded with a vocational qualification after 3 or 4 years.

We furthermore recommend that new streams are developed which are adapted to the continued development in the business sector of the community; this should be done both for the long and the medium-long courses, and to an even higher extent for the *short courses of further education.*

It is an important element in all courses of further education that importance is attached to the ability to create contact, to co-operate, and to impart knowledge and information. It is not only important for the greater majority of persons who have completed a long course of higher education and who are to teach, but also for most other groups in relation to clients, colleagues, and the general public, etc.

19. The proposals concerning *adult education* are a continuation of the main principles relating to youth education. A main issue is that increased efforts should be made as regards *reaching-out work*, for instance by improved use of radio and TV.

However, it is in particular important that a *special effort* is made for the large groups of adults who have completed a short course of study only. It is a question of not only giving them an improved background for a job, but also of a development in relation to the other lives.

We propose that possibilities are opened up for the persons who have completed a short course of study to get supplementary teaching and education with the same aim as the courses of youth education, but prepared particularly to suit the needs of mature students. There are two important prerequisites if this is to be sufficiently important: firstly, people should be entitled to release for education and training during working hours, i.e. they should be released from work during the period of study, and they should have a right to keep their job for the duration of the course, and secondly that an allowance is made in compensation for wages lost in the course of the period of study.

We realize that this will be expensive, and that it will create practical problems in the firms. Consequently we propose progress by stages, also because it requires time to make the arrangements and get teachers for such a comprehensive system of courses.

We would like to stress that an element of the deliberations on the economic possibilities should be the high rate of unemployment in these years, and that the total expenses as a result of long-term unemployment are far higher than the expenses in connection with a teaching scheme as the above-mentioned.

Consequently we also propose that *possibilities are opened up for unemployed people to follow a course of study without losing the right to receive unemployment benefit.*

As more general measures we propose an expansion of the system of refresher training and further training for everybody who have already completed a course of vocational training. Finally we would like to see a continuation of the vigorous development within the sector of leisure-time education, which has been of a varied nature and influenced a wide range of activities, and that such activities are supported out of public funds.

In principle we think that useful adult education is what the individual himself finds to be useful.

20. Concerning *teacher training courses*, which at present are divided into 5 or 6 clearly separate courses, we propose a coordination, and that importance is attached to a close combination of the professional elements and the educational and communicative aims in all these courses.

We consider it to be desirable that the boundaries between the different fields of employment of the teachers are made less rigid.

21. The CCE does not consider it to be expedient in the U-90 report to go into more detail as regards the many administrative aspects, but some central issues concerning the distribution of responsibilities between the various authorities are discussed.

If our ideas about a coherent education system with a common aim and orientation at all levels and with continued possibilities of development are to be realized, there must be an adaptation of the administrative structure accordingly. However, this will be far easier to do in Denmark than in most other countries, because many steps in that direction have already been taken in this country.

We consider it to be desirable,

that the chief planning is strengthened through a formalized co-operation between the Ministry of Education and other relevant government departments with connection to teaching and education, and

that within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education there is an improved co-ordination of the courses of youth education preparing for a vocation, and the courses preparing for continued studies, as they are today placed under several Directorates of the Ministry of Education.

that there will be a clarification and a simplification of the distribution of responsibilities between the State, the counties, and the local authorities, and

that to as wide an extent as is possible there is a general *devolution of power to local authorities and the individual institutions. The pupils and students at such institutions are to participate in the decision-making together with the teachers.*

22. The education political development has continued during the not quite 3 years the work on the U-90 report has been in progress. New ideas have been debated, there have been experiments, bills have been introduced, and acts have been passed. It has never been the intention of the work on the U-90 report that other initiatives should be postponed until the basis for seeing the totality and the connection would be available.

Future reforms will also be introduced by stages as regards the time aspect, and separately for the individual elements of the education system, or individual reforms across the boundaries between the various sectors.

The U-90 report does not provide a specific timetable for the detailed planning and decisions comprising the next 15 years, but it provides a better basis for rolling planning which can take into account new features of social development, new ideas, and new political directives.

In 15 years many problems will appear in quite a different light. Many things that now appear to be bold, will appear obvious, and reforms that seem to be required today, will turn out to be uninteresting, for instance because completely new solutions have been found. The development since 1960 seems to indicate clearly how much can happen over a period of 15 to 20 years.

If a planning which is subject to constant review is to become the leading principle for the educational policy of the next few years, it will have to be made by means of a wide-spread co-operation. It is necessary that the basis of information is expanded, and that the contact between the planners and the educational researchers is strengthened. This presupposes that a more fixed organizational framework for such co-operation is provided, and we think that the CCE as well as the Planing Department of the Ministry must participate in such co-operation with representatives of the many research institutes working on the issue of education.

D. Requirements as to Resources

23. Some of the proposals we make will result in increased public expenditure and engage a larger proportion of the labour force as pupils, teachers, and other staff. We estimate that in 1990 there will be 50–60,000 pupils of more than 16 years of age, approx. 20,000 more teachers, and well over 5,000 other staffmembers.

As long as there is a high rate of unemployment, we do not consider this to imply any heavy strain on the resources of our community and on economic balance, whereas increased educational efforts offer large advantages to the individual and to society as a whole.

Later on, when there is an economic recovery, the increased educational efforts will mean that the growth in private consumption and/or other publicly provided services should be restrained; but we also find that in that case it is expedient to accord a higher priority to education. Education is the basis of a number of qualities of life, and Denmark's possibilities of holding her own in the keen international competition is decisively dependent on knowledge, skills, and other qualities that are conditional upon education.

If all our proposals are implemented and there are more general improvements of standards and a reasonable expansion of educational aid, the share of GNP spent on educational purposes will increase from the present 7 per cent to upwards of 8 per cent in 1990. We do not consider this to be any prohibitive increase. But a number of proposals are designed with a built-in flexibility, so that it is not necessary to make decisions on the entire course of action already now. On the other hand, it is important that the preparatory planning is continued.

Summary of Minority Statements

1. *Mr. Knud Øllgaard* who represents the Federation of Danish Smallholders' Societies, the Federation of Danish Agricultural Societies, and the Joint Council of Danish Farmers' Co-operative Societies, and *Mr. Erik Tøttrup* the Danish Employers' Confederation state as the principal objection to the procedure used in the drawing up of the U-90 report that essentially it uses as its basis a *single politically motivated basis of values, i.e. the desire to carry through the ideal of equality in a more consistent way than has previously been the case.*

The minority can accept that equality is one of the foundations of our educational system, but only one of them. If the U-90 report is to be used as an introduction to a debate it should also contain other viewpoints. The majority refers to the fact that the U-90 report aims at being a guide for a very wide circle of readers: the Government, the Folketing, the press, the educational institutions, and the general public.

The U-90 report ought to have mentioned how allowance could be made for other aims. By way of example may be mentioned the circumstance that the demand for competence – the professional qualification – is treated too narrowly and superficially. This appears to be unreasonable when taking into account that our country can only meet competition from abroad through the skill we show – our high professional standards. In this connection the report does not discuss how a reasonable connection between what is taught within vocational training in particular and the jobs aimed at can be ensured in co-operation with trade and industry. On the other hand the majority recommends that increased importance is attached to teacher and pupil influence. The minority finds that this also endangers academic standards, as there are not the required prerequisites within the framework of the institutions for adjusting the courses of education to the duties that are to be discharged in the job which the pupil/student is later to take.

If too little regard is being paid to these problems of qualification, the young people who already have difficulties in finding a job will be affected to a particularly severe degree.

The U-90 report also goes too little into how the courses can be prepared as a service to the citizens through their lives, in other words in what is called 'lifelong education' as a kind of catch/phrase. The institutions and their functions are to a far too high extent used as a basis.

It is a decisive question how far the educational system is to go in addition to covering the specialized and very general fields of qualification. It is not very advisable to go into attitudes that attach to leisure life, family life, and community life. It is perhaps inevitable that the educational system should also be interested in these elements of the life of any citizen, but how far is it to go? This is a case of political estimates concerning on the one hand the consideration for the homes and the responsibility of the individual for himself, and on the other hand the assistance of society to the individual – an assistance that may very easily have the result that the individual is deprived of responsibility and initiative.

In a number of concrete matters the minority demurs to the proposals made by the majority.

The minority finds the proposal to include the *pre-school classes* in the compulsory part of education less reasonable, at least in the way the proposal is worked out. It is not clear whether the proposals of the majority will lead to a much more straightforward way of learning, or whether the main importance will turn out to be attached to the principle of 'a place to be'. Before this point has been clarified through development work, the minority does not find any basis for considering whether the period of compulsory education is to be extended to cover younger children than it does today.

As concerns *youth education* the minority finds that the courses should not be integrated or co-ordinated to such a high extent as is proposed by the majority.

The minority recommends that efforts should now be concentrated on the bipartite system of youth education, on the one hand the upper secondary school/the higher preparatory course, and on the other the various vocational courses. This does not imply a dissociation from practical co-operation or a rejection of the possibility that pupils may choose modules from the other line. On the contrary, such co-operation may be of great importance.

The minority finds that the recommendations made by the CCE concerning *adult education* have been made with too little understanding of the fact that it is not possible to write out bills for trade and industry without serious consequences to competetiveness, and thus to employment. In this respect the minority especially refers to the proposal that adult workers are to get educational leave of absence with full compensation for lost wages in order to participate a general course of study. The minority can subscribe to the view that the aim should be considered seriously, but it must demur to the proposed concrete measures.

It would be more obvious to turn the attention to the *jobless* and try to offer this group reasonable opportunities of education. In the opinion of the minority it should be considered how adult education could be prepared so that it could (also) work as *a labour market political tool*, with the efforts being varied in step with the rise or fall of the rate of unemployment to counteract – at least to a certain extent – the negative effects of unemployment for the ones who are affected by it.

2. The representative of the Danish Federation of Trade Unions, *Mr. Finn Thorgrimson* can in all essentials concur in the views of the majority contained in the U-90 report, but he has found it necessary to make minority statements on certain minor points.

These can be summed up as follows:

- The minority does not find that the chapter dealing with our conception of the future to a sufficient degree recognizes the need for 'economic democracy' in the society of the future.
- The minority finds that both the insistent demands for a democratization and an increased demand for capital will promote the principle of economic democracy within the next few years.
- On behalf of the Danish Federation of Trade Unions the minority doubts the advisability of the formulations in the chapter on aims and intentions for the educational policy of the 1990s about the role of the educational system with a view to implanting positive attitudes to existing rules and norms in the pupils. There must be things which one must absolutely be critical of – within the law.

In the minority statement is for instance mentioned the difference in sentences passed by the courts for white-collar crime and theft.

– The minority would like to make the following comments on the chapter dealing with the proposals for reforms:

- The representative of the Danish Federation of Trade Unions would like to have markings and examinations abolished in the primary school.
- The representative would furthermore also like to have the present possibility of division of courses in the top forms of the primary and lower secondary school abolished.
- The minority also finds that the subject '*vocational studies*' should be compulsory.

These statements have been made with a view to reducing the importance of the social sorting of pupils which takes place already in the primary and lower secondary school.

As regards adult education the minority has made a comprehensive statement, not because there are not positive features in the body of the main report, but because the minority finds them to be insufficient.

The key point of the statement is the principle of educational leave of absence with refund for wages lost, especially because this would provide an actual possibility of remedying the 'educational deficit' of the adult workers.

It is proposed that at any time at least 5 per cent of the labour force should be attending a course of study, with refund for wages lost according to the rules of the labour market courses.

The scheme must involve a right to return to the job.

If the work within the educational system is to take place within a given framework of resources, the minority proposes a redistribution in favour of adult education.

With reference to the chapter dealing with the problems of steering, the minority proposes – as a counterweight to the monopoly of the private textbook publishers – that public publishing firms are established; this implies that the State, the counties, and municipalities are to go into the publishing of educational materials.

Jørgen Jensen, Kirsten Kjersgaard, and Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen expressed their full support of the main principle which is stressed in the minority statement by the Federation of Trade Unions on adult education as regards the right to educational leave of absence with refund for wages lost.

3. *Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen*, representative of the Central Organization of the Publicly Employed University Graduates, has in some brief minority statements emphasized that the balance between the different courses of youth education must be found through the young people's own choice between courses preparing for a vocation, courses preparing for further studies, upper secondary courses, and higher preparatory courses, and that the CCE has not had the required specialized basis for making the proposals of having one directorate in the Ministry of Education take care of all courses of adult education.

4. *Finn Brandt-Pedersen, Erik Jørgen Hansen, Else Marie Sejer Larsen,* and *Gunhild Nissen* start by enumerating a number of *reasons why they have chosen to make a minority statement.* One of these is that the body of the report is characterized by a description of the situation as harmonious, where a description of the conflicts would give a better picture of the actual situation, and that the body of the report is based on confidence in what an 'equality-oriented attitude' alone can bring about, without contemplating in detail the importance of the basic social and educational structures. Furthermore is mentioned the lack in the body of the report of a defined target in the shape of a model for the structure of the educational system and content at the end of the period of planning, or later.

The minority substantiates with statistical data *the development in the educational sector up through the period of expansion starting in the early 1960s.* The conclusion is that the so-called residual group in all essentials is unchanged after this period – that there was a reduction of the size of the group with basic specialized skills, and a growth in the size of the group with theoretical skills, and that the socially imbalanced recruitment for the various educational areas has been maintained. Part of the explanation is seen in the bipartite steering which means that the politicians and the central administration take care of primary and lower secondary education and continued theoretical education, whereas the sector of vocational training has been steered by the labour market, in practice by the individual employers.

The minority discusses *the everyday life of the school and the educational institutions – content, language, behaviour,* – through which the educational system will contribute to the oppression of the interests of the least advantaged by having a content of values and methods of teaching which are alien to many children, and especially to the children from workingclass homes.

The minority next outlines the possible *development of society through the next decade* on the basis of trends that can be observed now – towards continued industrialization, bureaucracy, the deterioration of working conditions and the detrimental effects on nature, etc., and with aggravated conflicts and struggles between interest groups. The minority also finds that there are trends leading towards a corporate state – a society in which the State controls an increasing number of aspects of community life, with still tighter measures, and with interventions bordering on censorship.

In conclusion the minority *outlines an educational system* which may promote desirable trends and check unwanted trends. The main idea is 12 years of common education for all, divided into 3 stages:

1) *An initial stage lasting 2 to 3 years,* beginning not later than at the age of 5. This stage is seen as a combination of the

activities in the present kindergartens, pre-school classes, 1st forms, and leisure-time schemes, but with increased educational and professional efforts.

2) *A 7-year primary school*, without examinations and without the optional subjects which have a sorting effect, and which give varying degrees of qualification. The teaching should use as its basis the experience of the children and include the trends, aims, and conflicts of the surrounding community.

The educational activities should include problem-orientation and activities that combine practical and theoretical skills. The aim is partly insight into the situation and conditions of the individual, and partly experience in the opportunities which the group and the community hold for conscious and constructive actions.

3) *A 3-year period of continued schooling*. After completing this period all 17 year-olds will have general qualifications for further study and general vocational qualifications. In an initial period this period could be divided into some areas, for instance four: production – distribution – communication – environment, health, and care, – in an integrated system which comprises elements taken from the theoretical and general sum of concepts of the upper secondary school, from the combination of theory and practice found in basic vocational training, from the system of optional courses in higher preparatory coursees, and from the new ideas relating to continuation schools.

After the compulsory 12 years of education everybody will be sure of having access to acquire *special vocational qualifications* after a maximum of 3 years. These qualifications will qualify for a trade and full wages. These courses can be organized in areas, for instance in the above-mentioned four areas.

There will then be a possibility of *specialized further studies* which should not entail advantages in terms of wages, and which may be commenced after several years of work in the labour market.

All *adults* who have not received 12 years of education shall be entitled to be educated for the number of years they lack in having completed the 12 years. In this period they will get a refund for wages lost, etc.

Student participation is aimed at in all courses, and for this reason the institutions should be split up into small self-governing units.

The detailed framing of the outlined educational system should be made at the decentral level, and the minority therefore proposes that an *experimental period* of, say 6 years, is launched right away; in this period it will be possible for the institutions freely to design and test courses with the outlined aim. These experiments should be described and evaluated, and they should be included in the basis for the framing of more lasting changes.

The minority furthermore draws a number of conclusions as regards *teacher training* and finally points to a number of *immediate and more short-term efforts* in relation to the three dominant educational problems: educational aid, the residual group, and youth unemployment.

5. *Martin Jespersen*, the Danish National Union of Students, ascribes a different function and importance to the U-90 report than the one expressed by the majority in the CCE. We have another opinion of the problems in the existing educational system, and another opinion of what should be done in order to create actual improvements.

The U-90 report will hardly form a direct basis for important decisions within the central administration, and will not draw the general public into an extensive discussion of the educational sector, such as in officially maintained by the CCE. In its understanding and 'criticism' of the present educational system the 'plan' is far too abstract and non-committal to make it possible to deduct anything concrete from it, and in the section dealing with reforms only a few minor adjustments are proposed. In relation to the general public the 'plan' will have a function of justification and of propaganda, i.e. it will rather act as a passivizing factor than give any influence or provide actual understanding of the educational policy of the State.

The problems within the educational system are concealed or played down by the CCE majority, because they only deal very superficially with the situation within the different educational areas, and because the majority never goes further than to give some non-committal opinion or an outline of the different opinions that might be held. The point of U-90 report is that the present educational system is almost ideal, and that only a few adjustments here and there are needed. The CCE states that the larger part of the efforts should be concentrated on adult education, the education for the 16 to 19 years-olds, and the start at school, but no particularly remarkable proposals for reforms are made concerning these areas. In such an important field as adult education the proposals do not go much beyond advocating the granting of more funds to the existing system, depite of the fact that it is extremely criticizable and does not at all make allowance for the needs of the groups of people who have only completed a short course of study and the socially least advantaged. Correspondingly, the CCE tries to play down – or in fact tries to make look like unproblematic – the increasing State control and employer-orientation of the courses of further education.

The U-90 report does not point towards considerable improvements, because the CCE does not take as its basis the serious problems within the educational system that affect the ones who are studying, and incidentally also the majority of people in general. The CCE considers the 'problems' and the 'models of solutions' from the point of view of the State, and from the point of view of the employers. Consequently, what is expressed in the U-90 report is not endeavours to get equality or democratization. The 'plan' is characterized by naive optimism of growth and describes society as unproblematic instead of admitting that the government measures in a situation of crisis and the swing to the right hit the educational sector in the form of retrenchments and political regimenting.

These circumstances are described in more detail in the minority statement made by the Danish National Union of Students; the statement touches on the content and importance of the U-90 report, the function of the educational system from kindergarten to adult education, and an outline of the proposals of the National Union of Students for an educational policy with more perspective.

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General Minority Statements

General Minority Statement from The Danish Federation of Trade Unions

The Danish Federation of Trade Unions is of the opinion that the U-90 report taken as a whole is an extremely valuable piece of work as a background to political decisions on the future educational planning.

The chapters in Part I – which are primarily of a descriptive character – are thus valuable in themselves for the purpose of reference, and they may offer valuable contributions – in figures as well as in assessments – for the description of the existing educational system.

With reference to the majority and minor statements the Federation of Trade Unions can largely subscribe to the attitudes in Part II which are used as the basis for the following chapters dealing with proposals.

We are thus extremely satisfied that it is stated outright in the body of the report that 'one of the fundamental aims of the educational policy is to obtain greater equality' – or to put it in another way: *to smooth and reduce the large imbalances and inequalities within the educational sector.*

The Federation can furthermore subscribe to the opinion expressed in U-90 that equality cannot *alone* be created through the educational policy, but that educational political initiatives can play an important role.

Needless to say, equality does not mean *uniformity*, but equal opportunities for all. We are incidentally of the opinion that only in an equality-oriented life do human beings have a possibility of developing in different directions.

The Federation can furthermore subscribe to the view expressed in U-90 that adult education should be accorded a very high priority in the future educational policy. Reference is made however, to the statement concerning the proposal made by the Federation for an expansion of the sector of adult education.

We would, however, like to point out that when it comes to realization of the chapter dealing with equality and the higher priority to be accorded to adult education, it seems as if some consistency in lacking.

In other words, the Federation does not think that the statements in the chapter dealing with resources to a sufficient degree make allowance for the very heavy expansion we would like to see within this field, and which we consider to be an important prerequisite for meeting the intentions about a more equality-oriented educational policy.

In conclusion the Federation would like to point out that some of the wordings in U-90 do not have the compactness and clearness which the Federation would have liked them to have, but as in all other work in committees we have been forced to neglect the wording in order to work more on other sections. We have therefore concentrated our minority statements *on the fundamental viewpoints* which we either find to be unacceptable, or which perhaps have been completely left out.

Minority Statement on U-90 -- Finn Brandt-Pedersen, Erik Jørgen Hansen, Else Marie Sejer Larsen, and Gunhild Nissen

1. Why we cannot Subscribe to the Majority Statement

When in May 1975 Mrs. Ritt Bjerregaard, Minister of Education, requested the CCE to prepare the long-term plan for the educational sector, later to be called U-90, she stressed the following points, among others:

- 'if such planning is to be of any value it will have clearly to point to the political decisions to be made in the educational sector in the coming years – and this includes a mapping of where waters are divided, where Abraham and Lot part, and where there will be strife –'.
- the planning should be 'a guidance and clarification for politicians and the Ministry', and 'a basis for debate and information for the general public'.
- 'the imparting of information to and the activation of the persons influenced by the planning' was considered to be just as important as the description of the situation'.

We find that the demands on U-90 formulated by the Minister are very important, and we have wanted to contribute as much as possible to meet them. We have participated in the current work to frame the body of U-90, and now that we know its final shape we find that the report contains many viewpoints and proposals which we can subscribe to. However, in our opinion it also has serious drawbacks, one of the reasons perhaps being that attempts have been made to combine the widely different opinions of the CCE members, and in the case of half of the members the opinions of the organizations they represent. The result has been comprise wordings, which in the nature of the case often lack clarity and consistency.

Our criticism of the body of the report – such as we understand it – can thus be summed up in the following points:

1. The text does not to a sufficient extent include the documentation of problems and imbalances in the educational sector, available in the form of sociological and educational surveys and statistics from the Ministry of Education, the National Bureau of Statistics, the Danish National Institute of Social Research, etc.

2. The text does not include the large number of detailed deliberations which are contained in previous recommendations and reports on the educational situation in this country, and which might have been the basis for such comprehensive work on reforms.

3. There are no indications in the text that the mild suggestion made by a group of experts under the OECD has been followed. According to this suggestion plans, proposals, and deliberations from other countries might have been included.

4. The text does not attempt at discussing and analyzing the conflicts as regards the educational sector which have characterized the debate over the last few years, and which must be related to the historical development which has determined the present situation, and the clash of interests which will continue to be decisive of the development.

Correspondingly, there is no distinction between the points of criticism, which almost all of the members can subscribe to, and the issiues which really divide the general public.

5. The general use in the text of the '4 lives' – family life, leisure life, working life, the community life – has the result that the overall view of man and his conditions in society become diffused, re-

gardless of the sincere desire to combine the 4 lines.

6. The aims of equality expressed many places in the body of the report lack consistency, as there is too much reliance on what an 'equality-oriented attitude' alone can result in, without careful consideration of the importance of the influence of the basic structures of society and education on the penetration of this attitude.

7. The method of work and the style used have had the result that alternative ideas and alternative proposals – such as are represented in the debate on education – do not appear clearly in the text. This has had the result that the report is characterized by harmony in the issues where we find that a description of conflicts would be a more fair description of the actual situation.

We have been unable to solve the problems described in a way that satisfied us through our participation in the preparation of the body of the report. We cannot solve them in the following pages, either, but we can make an attempt at pointing to what we consider to be the central problems above all in the educational sector, and how they might be solved in the coming years.

2. The Development over the Last Few Years in the Educational Sector

A critical analysis of the present state of affairs in the educational sector should be used as a basis for proposals on education of the future. The immediate past should also be used as a basis, especially the development since the early 1960s, where the greatest expansion of the educational sector in this century started.

This expansion started at the same time as the (so far) last period of economic prosperity in Denmark, which was ae result of – and brought about – violent changes in the distribution of the labour force on trades and jobs.

The most marked changes were that the

- proportion of the labour force employed in the agricultural sector was halved in the period from 1960 to 1975,
- while the proportion of the labour force employed in the public sector – especially health service and social institutions – doubled.[1]

In their turn these shifts between the trades and the changes in the structure at the individual places of work resulted in important changes in the distribution of the labour force on jobs.[2]

1. The proportion of sole traders feel sharply,
2. the proportion of skilled workers decreased slightly,
3. and the proportion of salaried employees rose steeply. (This applies to both superior and subordinate employees).

The most significant thing is however that *the unskilled workers constitute an almost unchanged proportion of the labour force.* In 1960 it was 33 per cent, in 1970 30 per cent, and in 1974 31 per cent.

On balance, a much larger number of the employers got manpower ranging from people with a higher education to unskilled workers. Thus the development in the business sector of the community brought about what is called *polarization*, i.e. a larger gap as regards the sum of qualifications between top and bottom in the hierachy of trade and industry.

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[1] The National Bureau of Statistics and the Danish National Institute of Social Research: *Conditions of Life in Denmark. Statistical Survey 1976.* Copenhagen 1976, table 6.11.

[2] The National Bureau of Statistics and the Danish National Institute of Social Research: *Conditions of Life in Denmark. Statistical Survey 1976.* Copenhagen 1976, tables 2.8 and 2.9.

This development in the design of productive industry has undoubtedly provided strong impulses for our educational policy. However, we do not think that in the short-term educational policy should directly adjust to – let alone that it unconditionally should adjust to – the economic trends and trends in trade and industry. One of the reasons is that to a wide extent the educational sector follows its own traditional lines of development, and another is that influences also go in the other direction. If for instance efforts had been made in the educational sector over the last decade to ensure that the proportion of young people who complete a course of vocational training had increased – or at least remained the same – industry and commerce had undoubtedly been forced to reduce the proportion of unskilled workers in the labour force.

This was, however, not to happen, although the growth was rapid in almost all areas of the educational sector. This applies to the share in the GNP of expenditure, the number of students, the number of teachers, etc. This also applies if we – as is often the case – look at the share of a year group of young people who pass the upper secondary school leaving examination – or today to an increasing extent also the higher preparatory examination. In 1960 it was 7 per cent. in 1965 10 per cent, and in 1973 25 per cent.[3])

At the same time more and more young people stayed on voluntarily in the lower secondary school a couple of years after the 7 years which have been compulsory throughout most of the period from 1960. It should, however, be remembered that 9 years in the primary and lower secondary school in 1976 does not mean a longer total period of teaching than 7 years in the primary and lower secondary school in 1960, nor does it mean that the young people are in a more favourable position today as regards employment openings.

It is even more important that the increase in the intake to upper secondary education in no way was followed by a corresponding development in the basic course of vocational training. In fact, things looked promising at the beginning. Whereas at the end of the 1940s and in the greater part of the 1960s about a third of a year group of young people embarked on a course of training for apprentices, the percentage increased from the end of the 1950s and culminated in 1964 with almost half of a year group. Then a decline set in, so that in 1975 the percentage got down to 29, also when taking into account the courses of basic vocational training which were introduced at a very late stage.[4]) (Not until 1976 were there indications that this trend is on the point of reversal). The figures showing this striking development follow below:

No. of apprenticeships entered into per 100 young persons

1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975
32	33	43	46	37	20 + 9 pupils at courses of basic vocational training.

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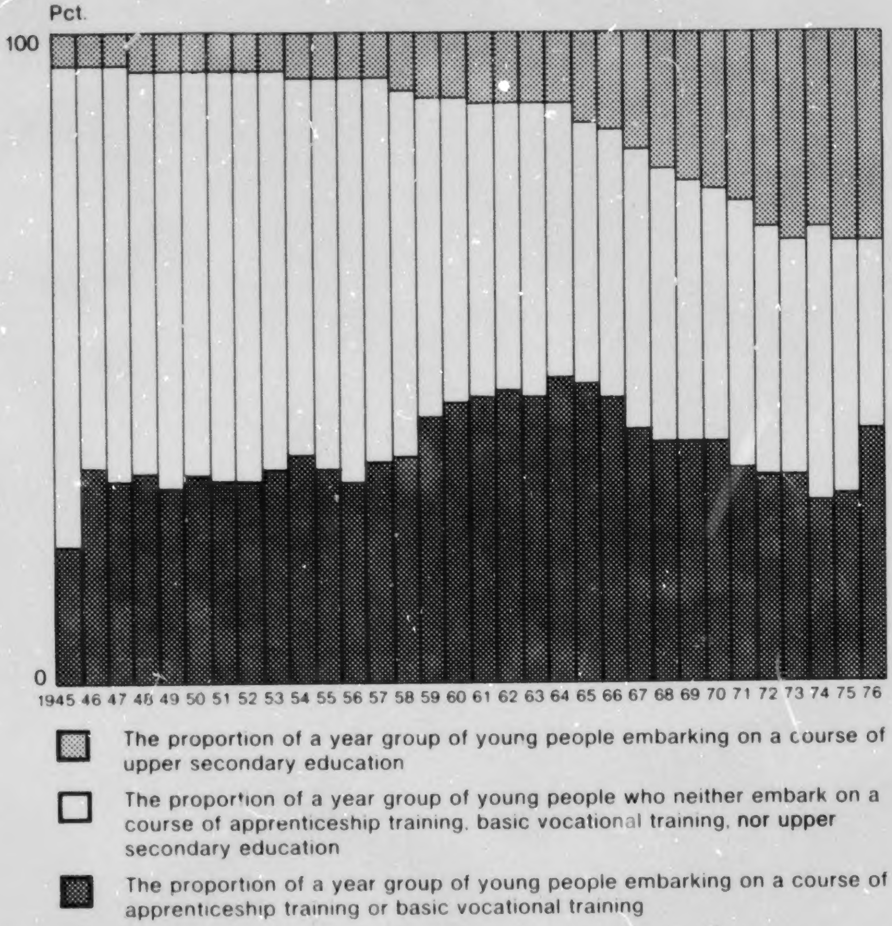
[3]) The National Bureau of Statistics and the Danish National Bureau of Social Research: *Conditions of Life in Denmark. Statistical Survey 1976.* Copenhagen 1976, table 5.1.

[4]) Inge Mærkedahl: *Trends in the Intake to the Most Important Courses of Youth Education through the Last 30 Years.* Volume II of U-90. Table 1.

Figure 1. The frequency of intake to *the training of apprentices, basic vocational training*, and *upper secondary education* in the years from *1945–76*.



Source: Inge Mærkedahl: Trends in the Intake to the Most Important Courses of Youth Education through the Last 30 Years. Volume II of U-90, table 1.

Figure 1 gives an outline of the development. It will be seen that total intake of persons in the age bracket 16 to 19 increased up to the middle of the 1960s and then stagnated. This means that the so-called residual group – the group of young people who do not get an education after having completed primary and lower secondary school, amounts to almost the same proportion of young people today as in the middle of the 1960s, i.e. approx. 30 per cent, or well over 20 per cent of the boys and almost 40 per cent of the girls.5)

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5) The National Bureau of Statistics and the Danish National Institute of Social Research: *Conditions of Life in Denmark. Statistical Survey 1976.* Copenhagen 1976, table 5.19.

We attach prime importance to the fact that the education policy has not been able to reduce the size of the residual group within the last ten years. Not because we find that our present educational system is so good that in itself it is disastrous to leave it, but because formal education has become of increasing importance for employment openings for the individual, and thus for his or her conditions of life, whether it applies to income, means, health, housing conditions, political influence, or other decisive aspects of our society.

Some people have taken comfort in the thought that some of the people who are in the residual group at the age of 16 to 19 will receive an education or training later on, for instance a course for semi-skilled workers. But even if we include these very short and very specialized courses, we still have to conclude that the share of the residual group in a year group has been constant over the last few years. As a matter of fact, the group without any vocational training was in 1976 just as large among those born in the period 1946–55 as among those born in the period 1936–45.[6]) The ones who have received the longest period of schooling are in fact also the ones who primarily enter on a course of adult education. By way of example may be mentioned that a survey of the participation of the male adult population in educational activities in 1975 shows that 82 per cent of the persons who had completed 7 years of schooling or less *did not* participate in any educational activities, whereas this was the case for 'only' 42 per cent of persons who had passed a school leaving examination[7]).

These imbalances in the development of the educational sector – which seem more than serious in themselves – are intensified by the fact that social recruitment for the various types of education continues to be very imbalanced. The aim has been to get more working class children into upper secondary education. These efforts have been successful, but the social groups which have benefitted most from the growth are, however, those comprising people from the best off families in society. For every 100 young people among unskilled working class families (social class V) an additional 4 began in an upper secondary school in 1975 as compared with 1965. For every 100 among well-off sole traders and salaried employees in the upper range (social class II) and additional 22 began in an upper secondary school. This trend can be seen in *figure 2.*

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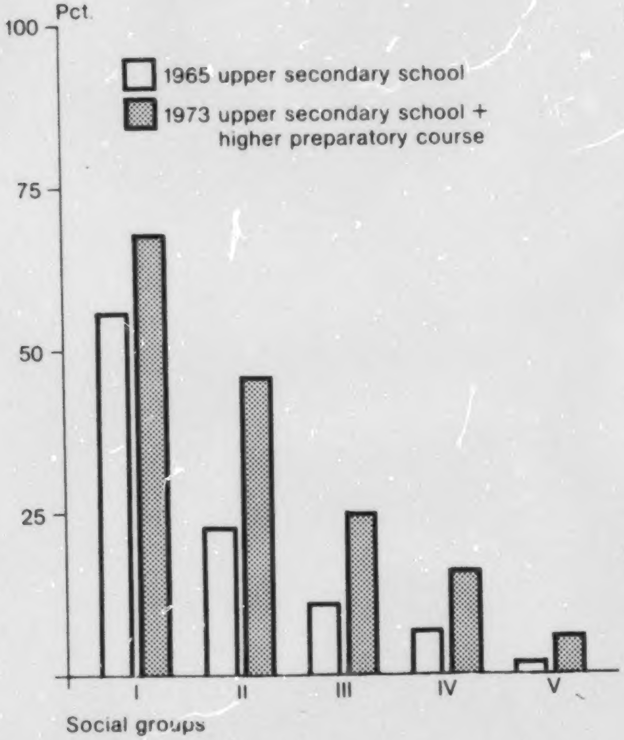
[6]) David Bunnage: *The Residual Group According to the Survey of Adult Education Carried Out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research 1976.* Figure A. Appendix to the CCE Appendix 208.

[7]) Erik Jørgen Hansen: *Equality through Education?* Booklet published by the Danish National Institute of Social Research No. 1, 2nd revised edition, 1977, table 3.

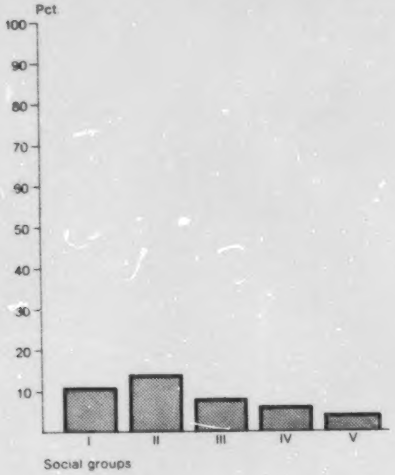
Figure 2. The proportion of young people attending upper secondary school or higher preparatory courses, per year group by social groups in 1965 and 1973.



Source: Erik Jørgen Hansen: *The Problem of Equality in the Danish Educational System*, The Danish National Institute of Social Research, Booklet 2, Copenhagen 1973, table 1, and Bente Ørum: *From School to Job*, Bulletin No. 7, the Danish National Institute of Social Research, Copenhagen 1974, table 3.1.

It is significant for the importance of the educational structure to social recruitment that social imbalance is reduced, if we only are to look at higher preparatory courses, *figure 3*.

Figure 3. The proportion of a year group of pupils attending a higher preparatory course by social group (1972).



Source: Erik Jørgen Hansen: *Social Recruitment for Higher Preparatory Courses and Upper Secondary School at the Beginning of the 1970s*, Bulletin No. 2, the Danish National Institute of Social Research, Copenhagen 1973 – figure 4.

But in the residual group social imbalance goes in the opposite direction. By way of example may be mentioned that more than 7 times as many of the girls from social group V as from social group I end up in the residual group, as will be seen from *figure 4*.

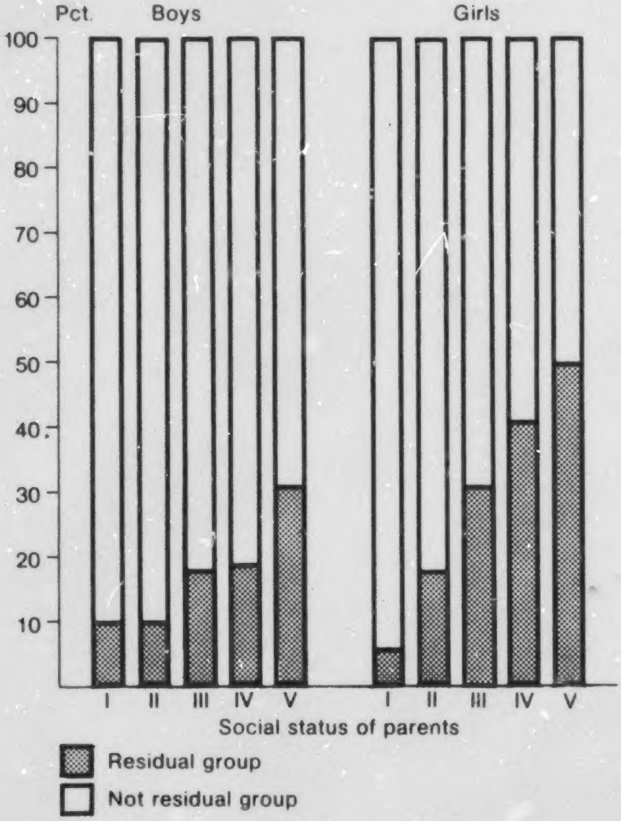
The development described above in the intake to education in Denmark and the continued social imbalances in it is partly due to the process of socialization; this process will be discussed in the following section. Other reasons are *the structure of the educational system and the steering of the educational sector*.

All through this century the structure has meant a tripartition of young people in the age bracket 16 to 19 into

1) a group who go via upper secondary education or the higher preparatory courses introduced at a later stage, aiming at executive jobs in working life,
2) a group embarking on courses of vocational training, including basic vocational training courses, introduced in the course of the period under review, aiming at jobs as skilled workers and subordinate employees,
3) a group of persons who do not receive education or training after having completed primary and lower secondary school, the residual group, and who primarily have to take unskilled jobs.

A basic prerequisite for maintaining this tripartition has been the sharp division of responsibilities in the steering of the educational sector. In short, this division of responsibilities has had as its aim that only the organizations of the labour market interfere in vocational

Figure 4. The percentage of 16 to 19-year-olds in the residual group in 1973 by social group. (By sex).



Source: Bente Ørum: *The Residual Group in Education,* Bulletin No. 13, the Danish National Institute of Social Research, Copenhagen 1975, figure 1.

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training, with the exception of the higher courses, and that the central administration and the politicians have the primary responsibility for primary and lower secondary education, upper secondary education, higher preparatory education, and the courses of higher education.

The increasing interest among young people for more education has thus had to be canalized through a traditional structure, where the community let the educational process be two independent processes, i.e. a general and theoretical process of qualification managed through the central administration, and a process of qualification with a vocational slant managed through the labour market.

In the former process the course is simply determined through the traditional mechanisms of selection in the primary and lower secondary school and the upper secondary school. These mechanisms have succeeded in giving many persons more theoretical education and at the same time maintaining social inequality.

In the second process the courses of vocational training have been prepared by labour and management, but in actual fact they have been controlled – uncoordinatedly – by the thousands of individual employers. Within the last decade the result has been a deterioration of the qualification for young people as regards the shore with basic vocational skills.

The situation may be summed up as follows:

We have

- a residual group which is essentially unchanged,
- a decline in the size of the group with basic vocational skills,
- an increase in the size of the group with theoretical skills,
- an unchanged socially imbalanced recruitment for the various educational areas,
- and behind all this a bipartite system freezing the situation.

3. Why is it so?

The educational system solves two main tasks:

- to provide the students and pupils with the necessary qualifications for various jobs
- and to impart the norms and attitudes to the children securing the stability of social structure as regards work, social. and cultural levels.

The former task, *qualification*, is solved in the majority of the cases after primary and lower secondary school in the form of continued courses of a theoretical or vocational slant. In primary and lower secondary school qualification comprises only the basic general knowledge and skills, and the latter task will consequently become the most important: the imparting of the ideological qualifications for participation in community life.

This task, *socialization*, is in particular imparted through the content of the teaching, the daily routines, and the relationship with other people which it is possible to establish inside the system.

During the last few years there have been changes, on the surface even great changes as to the subject areas and the extent of subject areas. But there has not been a shift in the basis of values, and thus in norms and attitudes which could have ensured that the majority of pupils would have their knowledge and skills developed on their own premisses, and in their own actual interest. The school still imparts the perception of the world which is in accordance with the interests of the dominating social group.

The development of a more informal and an often closer relationship between the teacher and the pupils can at best mitigate some of the effect, but as the educational system is still a rigidly controlled and divided system, the possibilities for a radical rearrangement are rather small. At worst, closer co-operation between the teacher and the pupils means a veiling of the actual balance of power, which makes the division of responsibilities and sorting currently in existence look natural and just.

Deliberations on the ideological functions of the educational system have not been accorded a high priority in the training of teachers, and the teachers are therefore poorly prepared for taking part in this cultural struggle.

It is necessary to look more closely at the process of socialization and the influence of the educational system on it.

Socialization may be definied as the primary unconscious process whereby the individual can acquire a set of behaviour habits and norms enabling him to function in an interaction with other people inside an environment. Such behaviour habits comprise bodily behaviour as well as intellectual and speech behaviour.

In Denmark socialization leads to a wide range of attitudes, codes, and other types of behaviour, but in the varied picture it is possible to observe a clearly marked division which is closely connected with the social groups which are well off as well as the worst off social groups; for the sake of convenience: the middle class and the working class.

The basic primary socialization takes place in the family. Not until in the subsequent secondary socialization does the educational system get a possibility of incluencing the situation. Primary socialization is thus directly tied to experience that is dependent on the conditions for the social group in which you are born. In this respect the occupational factors are probably very important, in that people in the social groups that are best off attain experience which makes them believe that action and activity will lead to results, whereas people in the social groups that are worst off attain experience which may give them the impression that they are subject to forces that cannot be surveyed, and which they cannot understand, and which they consequently do not have any influence on.

Socialization is still best – albeit still inadequate – elucidated in the case of speech behavious. The code of the middle class is in short most suitable for analyzing, debating, and for expressing oneself at a high level of abstraction, independent of the situation in which one is. The code of the working class is suitable for expressing oneself on the basis of concrete facts, down-to-earth and self-experienced matters, and as a consequence of this it is to a higher extent categorically assessing with a view to coming to terms and obtaining solidarity in the environment.

This is not to be understood too literally. It is a matter of tendencies which exist to different extents. But in an interaction with differences in the background of experience, the formation of ideas, and differences in the conception of and expectations of the school, it means, however, two clearly separate trends of socialization.

The two sets of behaviour are in principle equal. In the case of linguistic behaviour there is not a more and a less qualified version of the same, but of two types of behaviour which separately work well and are sufficient in the social contexts in which they have been born. Differences as to quality arise only when one behaviour is to be measured by the norms of the other.

If we are to imagine an 'optimum' linguistic behaviour – which is best suited for expressing the situation and circumstances of the individual – it has to hold features from both of them. The language of the working class which is deeply rooted in concrete, down-to-earth, and self-experienced matters could lead to insight – if it was supplemented with the ability for analysis and generalizations of middle class language – which would make it possible for the persons to act meaningfully and to influence the surrounding community and their own circumstances in it. But in order to acquire such a language it will be necessary to achieve the corresponding experience and conceptions. This means that the conditions of work and the social reality which the one social group experiences should not be closed country to the other.

The influence of the educational system on the socialization of the individual pupils is largely an unconscious process, both for the pupils and for the teachers. The design of the school has the result that it primarily reflects and passes on the language, behaviour, and picture of society of the middle class. The pupils from working class homes are not offered an expansion of their own language, behaviour, and picture of society, but instead a re-socialization. And as there is a close connection between languages/ideas and personal experience/identity, such a re-socialization is interference with identity. The consequence is often alienation in relation to the environment, and repression of for instance the experience which was supposed to be a basis for analyzing personal and social conflicts.

Middle class children are offered a socialization in continuation of their own, but not insight into the experience of other social groups. The school will therefore stress the view of society of the middle class as the one which applies to everybody.

The middle class character of the school is for instance expressed by *the educational material and the textbooks.* Since the Danish Semi-skilled Workers' Union (the SiD) (formerly the Danish General and Semi-skilled Workers' Union – the DASF) began a critical examination of the content of the school books and demonstrated how inadequate and biassed the treatment of the Labour movement and the working class is in the common text books, these efforts to describe the basis of values have been followed up by many other people. There are still many problems to tackle, for instance the widespread tendency to describe society as essentially satisfactory and harmonic, and thus shrink from the serious and urgent issues.

But the middle class character will perhaps appear even more clearly through the so-called *hidden curriculum:* what is learnt is not a result of the content of the guide to the planning of the subject, but a result of the daily routines and the types of behaviour which are encouraged and rewarded. Below we will discuss a number of factors forming part of the hidden curriculum.

It is a principal feature that the pupils primarily work in detached *situations of training,* which must appear meaningless. The traditional Danish essay may be mentioned by way of example. The pupil will write an essay about a subject which he or she is hardly interested in for a teacher who is not interested in the topic either, but who intends to test the pupil's proficiency in writing. Practice in essays and the treatment of a topic may on the other hand be meaningful when it is a functional element in a work situation, i.e. when the essay or report the pupil prepares is to be used by the group or the class in the continued work.

The division of the timetable into subjects intensifies the detachment from reality. The crux of the matter is that no real problems, none of the problems that people face in real life, are within the confines of a single subject. Consequently the teaching under a timetable divided into subjects is reduced to deal with 'artifical' problems which are presented in the order determined by the course of the teaching in the subject. These are the problems of the subject, not the problems of reality, or at best constitutent problems from real life, but detached from their context.

During the last few years attempts have been made to improve the situation through various innovations within the school. But till now they are only exceptions some 'breaks' in an otherwise rigid timetable which is divided into individual subjects, whereas the subjects ought to be supporting fields for the work with the topics and problems of real life.

The division into lessons works in the same direction; the pupils have perhaps 6 subjects a day without any coherence. The same is the case with *the isolation in the classroom* without any contact with the society outside it, the strong magisterial tendency in the topics and tasks which the pupils are to deal with – without having had the chance of choosing them as relevant, and *the textbook-centered working methods* which makes it difficult to include the large amount of experience which all the pupils hold.

A special problem is the fact that *the aesthetic and creative subjects and the practical and manual activities are isolated* as special subjects and are not included as functional elements in a context of theoretical problem solving. These activities are thus accorded a second-rate status, because the results in other subjects obtained through examinations are those that form the basis of employment and access to further education.

The changed conditions of practical training outside the school in childhood and adolescence has had the result that the school has been accorded a task in this respect which it *does not* solve in its present form. The traditional role as a 'academically started school' is preserved to a far wider extent than it will be possible to argue for.

The hidden curriculum is finally to a high extent important as regards *examination and assessments*. The setting is clear: the individual pupil and his achievement on his own is assessed as the 'general behaviour in the examination situation' in competition with the other pupils in a comparative assessment of achievements. Such assessment is made according to the so-called '13-scale of assessment' with its illusion of extremely precise evaluation, and with an external examiner present as a guarantee for absolute justice.

It will be seen how the character of experience and reality which so strongly flavours the pattern of socialization of the working class is far removed from the daily life of the school. The school practices an institutionally approved language which is detached from the actual background of experience held by the pupils to describe the world and builds up a specific set of values, which is confirmed through the work with textbook material. In this way the pupils will learn to understand and analyze the social reality in a way that is in accordance with the view of society reflected by the educational system.

When this process is successful this development of consciousness, which is not based on experience, leads to passivity and alienation. For many pupils the result will be that their intellectual development comes to a standstill, they lag behind the other pupils, become disinclined to go to school, receive remedial instruction without much result, and leave the system as early as possible after having experienced defeats. And the energy which cannot be displayed in a commitment in school may show itself in aggressions, violence, mobbing, etc., and the school will be faced with a disciplinary crisis.

The teachers in this system have to a large extent been recruited from the middle class, and through their long period of training they have also been schooled in the pattern of behaviour of the middle class. As a result of the isolated courses of training of teachers for different educational levels the teacher force is divided, and it is completely devoid of a common framework of basic ideas, although they have teaching in common and are to teach together in an educational system which ought to be conceived as an integrated whole. The teachers do not have many more possibilities than the pupils. They constitute an exposed group which is in a tight corner as a result of different interests, and together with the pupils they are trapped in a hierarchy, a binding structure in which the involvement which any teacher supposedly uses in his work as his greatest assets, will fail to make itself felt.

Thus the educational system sorts the pupils for different places in society, with all that this implies in terms of inequality, and assessment and examinations will lead the pupils to believe that this sorting is just. As they are individually sorted and individually assessed, they will have learnt to think in terms of patterns of competition, while they have been offered far too little common experiences which might further solidarity, and they have had far too little possibility of experiencing the opportunities presented by community and co-operation.

These circumstances which primarily apply to the primary and lower secondary school also apply with some variations to the rest of the educational system – *and the structure of the educational system* in itself intensifies inequality. Already the start at school is a key event. The scarcity of kindergartens and pre-school classes is most heavily felt in the housing areas of the worst-off social groups, and there is no framework for promoting co-operation as regards the transition from kindergartens via pre-school classes to the lowest forms of the primary and lower secondary school.

The next key event is *the transition from primary and lower secondary school to post-compulsory schooling*. The crux of the matter is here the time when the young people take leave of each other in the educational system and continue in sectors in which they to a wide extent will be locked up for the rest of their lives. We know that those you primarily associate with, marry, associate with in therms of work – including types of work, level of wages, degree of risk as regards accident and illness – and share linguistic and behaviour norms with are the people you are educated with. This will have an effect on the conditions of growth of the following generation; thus the ring is closed, and the social heritage a reality.

In the various sectors of the educational system a pattern may be seen which qualifies some people carefully and over a long period for executive functions in the community and at the same time provides a broad basis for participation in public life, for making use of the cultural offers provided in society as well as other opportunities, whereas other people receive a short and narrow qualification for subordinate and manual functions in trade and industry.

It finally applies to *adult education*, the opportunities of which could be an educational possibility for equalization. But the resources that have been applied are far from sufficient to support exactly the groups of the population who left the educational system at an early stage, with the least benefit, and who have been defeated in their attempt at surmounting the financial and other obstacles preventing them from resuming their education. On the other hand, it is in most cases convenient for those who have already completed a course of higher education to go in for refresher courses, and it will therefore quickly become routine for them.

In the field of adult education we also see unfortunate results of the principle of several separate 'lives' in the form of a division into a non-committal leisure-oriented general teaching and narrow trade qualifications where in fact a broad teaching giving total qualification was far more desirable and useful.

4. Whither Society?

Before drawing any consequences of the critical comments on the present educational system, and before we make any proposals, it is necessary to try to imagine how society will develop over the next decade. Such prophecies are difficult, and we have to make some reservations, but various possibilities can be deducted from the trends that can be observed in the present situation.

As has been mentioned the picture of society as essentially satisfactory is often presented, and it is also said that the shortcomings which in fact exist are of a limited extent and are incidentally only remnants of problems which are in the process of being eliminated. Special problems such as unemployement are understood as the result of a catastrophe or the force of destiny.

Such a picture of a harmonious society is a distortion of reality in the opinion of the minority. There are serious conflicts in society which we have to face. There are different groups, strata, and classes in this society, which in fact have different and opposing interests. The two most important interests groups or classes are on the one hand the manual workers, subordinate employees, socially and educationally disadvantaged, and on the other hand employers, owners of capital, speculators, high-ranking civil servants, etc.

Class and interest conflicts are together with economic trends the motive power for the trends of society. The relative strength between the groups in these conflicts is decisive for the trends in society.

In the article 'A Basis for an Assessment of the Future of Danish Society' in Volume II of the U-90 report will be found a detailed description of the basis for and the arguments in connection with the following trends.

If we expect the trends of today to continue, we shall have to reckon with a continued long-term crisis, perhaps with certain short upswings, but characterized by large-scale unemployment.

In this connection we shall have to take into account an acceleration of the conflicts and struggles between the interest groups which are already seen today on several levels. Strikes for higher wages and improved working conditions. Actions to stop rent increases, to stop the converting of rented flats into owner-occupied flats, to prevent the closing down of institutions. The fight for influence on the content and function of the courses of study. And opposed to this an increased governmental control of the labour market, demands for tightenings, regimentation, and censorship-like interferences in the mass media and the educational system. The demand for activ loyalty towards the present State and the present society. All of these requirements are something we know from more totalitarian states – development towards a corporate State, i.e. a society where the State organizes and controls an increasing number of social functions, where the State fixes wages, where no strikes are allowed, and where attempts are made to merge the organizations of labour and management. We do not imply that the Danish society is on the point of becoming such a state but that there are certain trends which in the long term may point in that direction.

The following keywords may be mentioned to describe tendencies which must be taken into account if the present situation develops unchanged:

- continued *industrialization,* the introduction of new techniques reducing the rate of employment,
- the *concentration* of business enterprises and greater influence from the multinationals, although the development has been considerably slower in Denmark than in other countries,
- *the specialization* of business enterprises and of the qualifications of labour, which implies that a larger number of workers will be required to execute operations which require less vocational and educational qualifications than was previously the case,
- *a polarization* of the qualifications of labour so that some people will receive a longer education, for instance technical training, whereas many others will receive a short training intended for semi-skilled workers, or no training at all,
- an increased degree of *commercialization* in the form of advertising and marketing efforts which may result in a market which may be manipulated to a higher extent,

- *urbanization* which means that an increasing number of people get work in firms in the towns or in the rural districts, which are converted into industrial districts and urbanized areas,
- *bureaucracy* concealing the increased state management, despite all the talk about grass-roots democracy, and which can also take place on the international level in connection with an enlargement of the EEC,
- '*spoiling nature/work environment*', which partly means a deterioration of the environment at work, and partly implies a general deterioration of the environment, a contamination of nature, food, etc.

To this should be added features which are more difficult to define, such as increased alienation, a sharp division of leisure-time and work, the increasing importance of the mass media, perhaps as a passivating or indoctrinating factor, etc.

An objection may be that the picture outlined above of the society of tomorrow is a bugbear, and so it perhaps is to a certain extent. A number of the trends are however very realistic and can be seen already today in the headlines in the papers, and in the daily news on TV. Incidentally it can be necessary to call attention to the extremes of the most negative tendencies in order to realize the necessity of working on changing the direction of the trends.

It must be maintained that the problems of society stem from the structure of society and not from the educational system, and the possiblities contained in the educational system of altering society should not be exaggerated.

The educational system is, however, an important factor, and this can be seen from the fact that a large number of the conflicts of the crisis manifest themselves in a struggle over the structure of the educational system. The educational system has always been more flexible than other sectors, too, partly as a result of the time-honoured tradition of Danish educational thoughts, and partly by virtue of the position of the courses of study outside the system of production and distribution of goods, and administration.

The crisis has, however, also unintentionally provided us with tools which can be used in the work on creating a better educational future, which we will outline below.

Today we have – and will continue to get – an increasing number of well-educated unemployed people, who may be used in the implementation of educational reforms in various ways, after having received a relevant refresher course and after a disintegration of narrow subject boundaries. The sharp decline of the birth rate has at the same time had the result that without increasing total expenditure we can invest far more resources in the education of the individual persons. Finally, we have a political opportunity of preparing a plan covering a span of time of 15 years – which is a long period according to Danish standards.

5. What should Tomorrows' Education be Like?

In the course of such a long period of time it is possible to attain a wide range of central aims within the educational sector. The central issues in an introduction to a debate, such as the U-90 report, must be a discussion of the aims which are determine the development of the educational system up to and after 1990, and proposals for ways and means that can lead to the attainment of the aims agreed upon.

In the light of the above reasons we will therefore present a few concrete proposals for the principles for the framing of a comprehensive educational system. As a result of lack of time and of resources it can only be an outline, and we must therefore concentrate on the main features of an educational system, which in our opinion will be able to further some desirable trends, and contribute towards checking some of the undesirable trends previously mentioned.

In our opinion it will be decisive to aim at obtaining:

- a phasing-out of the circumstances in the educational system that contribute towards maintaining the great differences between people at the place of work.

  As we have stated before the educational system of today contributes towards maintaining these differences by *making* young people different in such a way that they fit into the hierarchy at the place of work.
- a phasing-out of the factors within the educational system which contribute towards the oppression of the interests of the least advantaged.

  Today the educational system contributes to this oppression through a content of values and methods of teaching which are alien to many children, especially the children of working class parents.
- a building of an educational system which will ensure that all pupils will get a background for developing all their resources towards independence, critical faculty, and solidarity in such a way that it will be possible for them to act in concert.

  Today the educational system contributes towards developing independence in the individual at the expense of solidarity with the many.

The Educational System of the 1990s

We think that these aims can be attained in the 1990s. Many of the proposals that are formulated in the body of the report will be able to contribute towards this, but in our opinion the proposed reforms and the methods of planning do not ensure the attainment of these aims. The reason is that the efforts are primarily concentrated on a continuation of the present trends without any indication of the actual final result of the period covered by the plan, and thus there are no indications whether the various proposed reforms can work as a satisfactory whole. Consequently it can be feared that the proposals contained in the body of the report will largely result only in minor improvements to the present system.

Consequently we think that we should start by outlining the result which we should like to reach in the 1990s, and then – in the concrete planning work – to go back and determine the results to be reached by 1985, 1980, etc.

As a consequence of this we will outline the educational system which we would like to see established by the 1990s. The leading idea is a 12-year common education for everybody, where the aim of the work is a development of the theoretical and practical skills of the individual on the basis of the experience of the individual and the common experience, insight into the structure and functions of society, and experience in acting and assessing the consequences of actions. We also have a suggestion for an outline for the subsequent courses of actual vocational training, but we must stress at this point that this is only one among several proposals for the structure of such a system. The actual framing must be the result of a debate and possible political measures.

The three most important aspects of any educational system are *structure, content, and administration,* and we would like to stress the obvious thing that reforms in each of these areas must be co-ordinated. We will therefore not separate these aspects in the following discussion but instead outline the educational system of the 1990s by discussing the courses for the individual age groups.

The Education of the Very Young Children

The knowledge we have today about the importance of the *preschool period* indicates clearly that education should start much earlier than it does today. We think that common education should start at the age of 5 – at the latest, and we imagine a period with an introductory phase of 2 to 3 years. It could be seen as a fusion of the activities in the present kindergartens, pre-school classes, first form, and the leisure-time schemes, but in relation to the present situation there must be heavily increased educational and professional efforts on the part of the various groups of educationists in close co-operation. These efforts should partly ensure a general individual development on the premises of the individual child, and partly the initial social education for the demands of the community.

The Education of the Children

After this initial period follows a *7-year primary school*. It should be a school without examinations, and without the types of optional subjects which result in a sorting of the pupils or in different qualifications for the children.

As concerns the choice of topics the primary school should use the experience of the children as a basis, and challenge them to a systematic treatment of their background and environment which can be defended professionally. In this way the trends, aims, and conflicts of the surrounding community will also be included. Allowance for these requirements can hardly be made in the present system, which has a timetable divided into subjects and lessons, and with the all-important theoretical teaching. Consequently it will be necessary to introduce educational activities comprising problem-orientation, and in this way combine theoretical and practical abilities. This will make new and special demands on the teachers and their training.

The training of teachers should – contrary to what is the case today – integrate educational and psychological knowledge and experience with practical and aesthetic skills, and a broad theoretical subject area. The courses should be made so flexible and be governed by the participant to such a degree that new fields such as the history of ideas, economics, ecology, and ethics can be included as required. To this should be added expansion and training in the use of different ways of expressing oneself and ways of communication.

The aim of the theoretical and the practical work in the primary school must be on the one hand to develop the child's understanding of his own situation and the conditions under which it participates in community life, and on the other hand to develop the experience of the child as regards the possibilities which the group and the community have for conscious and constructive actions. This balance between insight and action must be a leading principle: theorizing without action leads to passivity and alienation, whereas action without theoretical deliberations will lead to pure activism. In our opinion this constructive criticism worked out and tested in practice is the basis for political education. In this way we are ensured that children will be taught to be social-minded and to participate in a democratic society, who when adult will strive to give all groups the participation in decision making they are entitled to, and for whom equality is thus not only a slogan.

The Education of Youths

Right after the 7-year primary school follows the *3-year courses of continued schooling*, which are practical and theoretical courses. At the end of this period *all young people* will have completed a

12-year period of study. The chief aim of this will be to give all 17-year-olds *general study qualification* and *general vocational qualification*, such as these terms are for instance defined in the body of the report. A leaving certificate is presented to the pupil at the end of the 12-year period of study; such a certificate will contain a description of the fields of work and the work itself.

The comprehensive school for all young people must also for these age groups offer broad and different fields of topics and issues which the pupils can study. A type of course might be imagined with the topics divided into areas in the last three school years as an intermediate stage on the way to a fully comprehensive school. These areas should be limited in number. They could for instance be:

- production
- distribution
- communication
- environment, health, care.

Thus it would not be an upper secondary school, nor would it be a higher preparatory course, apprenticeship or – at these age levels – basic vocational training courses, but there would be an integrated system which includes elements from the general and theoretical spheres of the upper secondary school, from the combination of theory and practice found within basic vocational training, from the system of optional subjects within higher preparatory education, and from the new ideas on continuation schools.

It should be stressed that a decisive prerequisite for a realization of this system is a changed training for all of the teachers who are to work within this system of 12 years of school studies. The required continuity must be secured through a close co-operation – both professionally and educationally – between the various groups of educationists. The basis for this co-operation will be laid in the teacher training through the building of a common framework of concepts, a theoretic basic training with common psychological and educational subjects at the same time as the specialized training within the chosen field, and the school practice within the chosen age group. The participation in development work and in educational research projects should be included both in the training and later on in the co-operative efforts.

After the common compulsory 12-year period of study which ends at the age of 17 – as has been stated above, with general study qualification and general vocational qualification, all young persons must be ensured access to acquire *special vocational qualification* for a job with full pay. This means that also at this stage – (for children at the age of 17 to 20) – the educational system must be dimensioned for the entire year group of young people. Furthermore, it should be stressed that the courses are to comprise both a theoretical part, specialized parts, and several periods of active employment. The required number of places for traineeships must be secured through legislation, which requires all firms of more than a certain size – and opens up the possibility for all firms – to be a place of training; this implies that private as well as public firms are under an obligation to provide a specified number of traineeships.

The duration of the courses may vary, but it must be possible to acquire the special vocational qualification within a maximum of 3 years. At the same time it should be mentioned that the courses also at this level are to be so general in character that only subsequent courses – perhaps courses of further education – will become actual specialized studies. The courses for obtaining special vocational qualification might be organized on the basis of the basic vocational principle or within the areas mentioned above:

- production
- distribution
- communication
- environment, health, care

where the caracteristic feature would be that the courses aimed at all of the functions within a social sector are found within a common framework. The general elements of the courses can thus be common to several 'function groups', trainee service periods, and trainee places, and transition from one 'function area' to another will be more simple at the same time as the specialized character of the individual course is maintained.

The Education of the Adults of Tomorrow

Under the system described above covering the basic and continued courses of schooling, the persons who grow up in the 1990s and later will all have a general study qualification and a general vocational qualification. Most of them will probably also have accepted the offer comprising all persons of getting a special vocational qualification. In that case the basis of what are today called courses of further education and adult education will be completely changed.

However, there will still be a need for *specialized courses* of *further education*. However, if we are to ensure that these do not have a negative effect on the equality which as been built up in the previous period of school studies, the prerequisites must be:

- that the content of these courses is constantly adjusted to the function of the courses in the democratic society,
- that consistent attempts are made to reduce and remove the differences in wages between persons who have completed a specialized course of further education and those who have not,
- that periods of practical work covering several years to begin with give a privileged position on application for admission to a course, and as soon as possible becomes a necessary prerequisite for embarking on a specialized course of further study.

The system of adult education should also be designed as an interaction between work and education throughout life - both as regards mature students participating in specialized courses of further study and all other persons participating in a course of study.

The entire educational system we propose is outlined in *figure 5*.

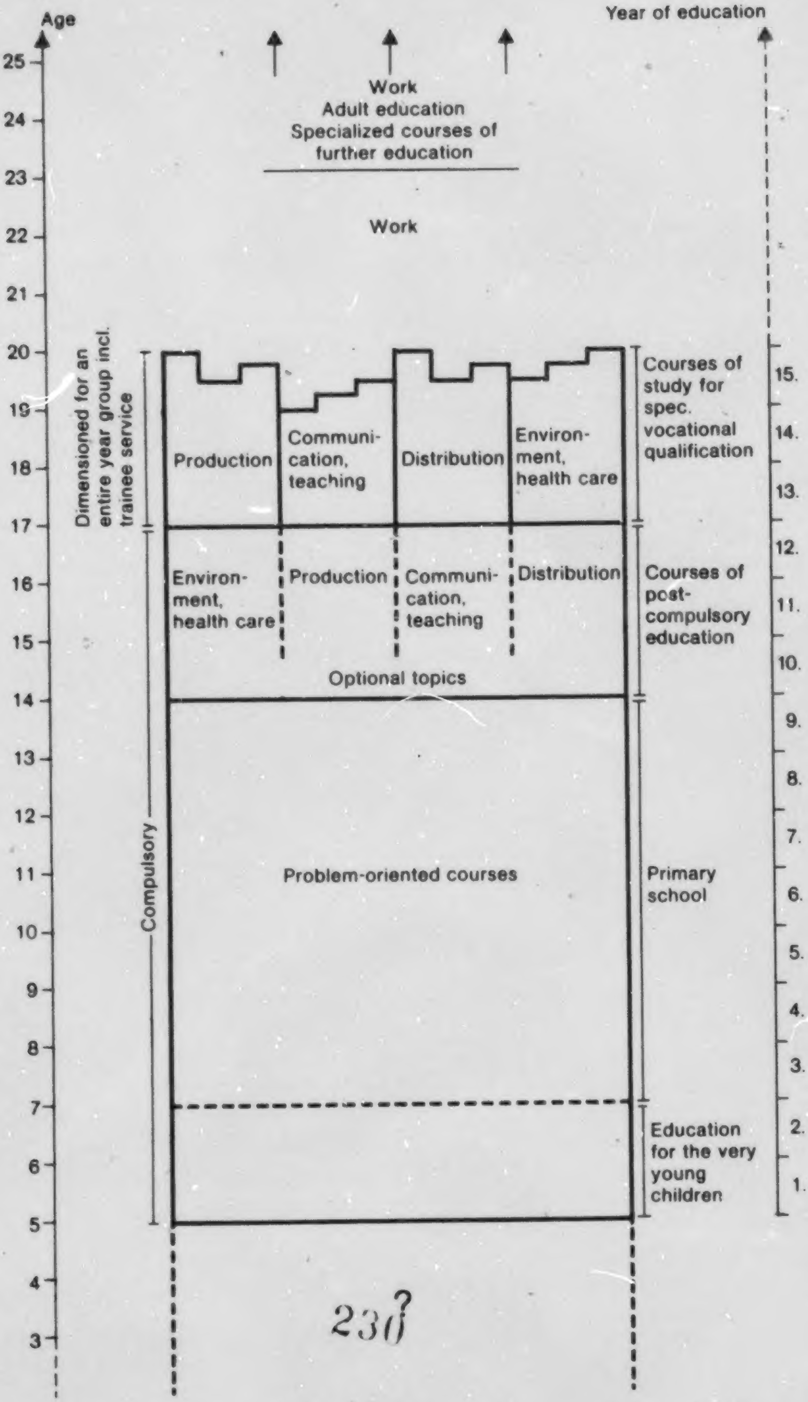
The Education of the Adults of Our Generation

A large proportion of the adult population will have a 'deficit in terms of education' for the next few decades, as they will only have received 9 years of schooling or less. All the adults in question must be ensured the right to education for the number of years they lack before reaching the compulsory 12 years. Consequently, they are to have a refund for wages lost in the periods in which they want to utilize the educational offer, after having discussed the matter with their colleagues to find the most suitable time.

In addition to this individual offer, public support should be granted to educational projects proposed by groups of workers, citizen groups, or groups of environmentalists. It ought to be possible for such groups at their own initiative to prepare the teaching themselves according to their own plans.

When taking into consideration who have been accorded the largest share of adult education, it is our opinion that the concrete arrangement of the education of the adults of our generation should first and foremost take place in co-operation with the trade unions in the manual labour market.

Figure 5. Outline of the educational system in the 1990s.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6
5
4
3
Work
Adult education
Specialized courses of further education
Work
Dimensioned for an entire year group incl. trainee service
Compulsory
Production
Communication, teaching
Distribution
Environment, health care
Environment, health care
Production
Communication, teaching
Distribution
Optional topics
Problem-oriented courses
Courses of study for spec. vocational qualification
Courses of post-compulsory education
Primary school
Education for the very young children
Year of education
15.
14.
13.
12.
11.
10.
9.
8.
7.
6.
5.
4.
3.
2.
1.

Conditions of Management

A structure like the one described in the above must of course have profound consequences for content, organization and management.

In addition to the already mentioned proposals an actual participant direction of the educational process should be aimed at. This presupposes that the present institutions ranging from those catering for very young children to those offering specialized courses of study – are divided into small self-governing units that get actual co-determination, i.e. decision competence and responsibility for the finances, physical framework, and planning of the unit and the execution of the activities which are to lead to general or special qualifications.

The decentralized direction – at the institutional level – is an absolute necessity for a living and experimenting environment. We presuppose that central demands are laid down as to the quality of the courses in order to ensure a homogeneous level of qualification. The criteria for qualification which will be used here, must ensure that constants innovations of both a specialized and a functional nature are always possible.

Educational Aid

All educational reforms will easily become empty phrases if the students do not have a possibility of supporting themselves when studying. Within the next few months the CCE is to make a proposal on the future educational aid. We will therefore only stress at this point that we presuppose that the State will provide all students with such an educational aid as will the students to live on that alone.

It is furthermore our opinion that the support to students in the specialized courses of further study is to be repaid if the wages earned after the student has completed his studies on an average exceed the wages of a skilled worker.

The Way to the 1990s

We do not think that our proposals on an educational system for the 1990s can be implemented by the central administration alone. Nor do we find it desirable. The establishment of an improved educational system in the 1990s can only be obtained by including the parties involved in the framing of the system.

We therefore propose that the first stage will be an experimental period covering a number of years, for instance 6 years. With unchanged resources, but without the central control of the organization and content of the courses and the resources used by the institutions, the individual areas of institutions are to frame and test courses aiming at the targets outlined above. The transfer of resources from one existing constituent field to another – or co-operation as regards these resources – must, if necessary, be ensured through legislation.

When planning such an experimental period many questions should be taken up. By way of example may be mentioned:

How

- to have teaching which is not divided into subjects for the various age groups?
- to establish participant-directed project work for the various age groups?
- to integrate the aesthetic-creative and the practical-manual activities?
- to plan courses of study which build on the experience of the participants and is carried out on the premises of the participants?
- to build up a decentralized and participant-directed decision-making process and administration?
- to make structural changes, such as the division of large institutions into small self-governing units?
- to integrate the continued courses of schooling on the present basis?

- to transform the present courses of further study to courses giving special vocational qualification (a maximum of 3 years) and to specialized courses of further study?

These questions – as well as many others – can only be answered through organized local pilot and development projects.

All these individual experiments are to be described at regular intervals, and at the end of the experimental period they should be evaluated in co-operation with the participants themselves, educational researchers, and prospective 'customers' with a view to making more precise proposals for more permanent changes of the educational system. Such proposals should be presented as a whole to the CCE, which will then make proposals on the extent, procedure, etc. in the further development after a co-ordinated treatment of the proposals.

6. Our Current Educational Policy

The experimental period does not imply that the CCE becomes jobless. The work on the U-90 report has taken up all of the time of the CCE during the last few years, so advice on current educational questions have been accorded a low priority. We consequently think that in conclusion we should stress that U-90 should be implemented right away by an intensification of the work to solve the three predominant educational problems, i.e. educational aid, the residual group, and youth unemployment.

The work on educational aid has now started at the initiative of the Minister of Education, and we shall not comment on the work here.

As concerns the residual group the development has shown that neither the offers in the public sector nor those in the private one have been able to provide for a basic vocational training for everybody. Experiments with new types of continuation schools have proved, however, that they could solve the educational problem for some people in the residual group. This is not least due to the combination of practical and theoretical work which it is the responsibility of the participants to carry through. Consequently, it is necessary that the public authorities support and extend these untraditional educational offers, and that new as well as old places of training and workplaces are established and extended, respectively, within the problematic field which at the time being especially appeal to the initiative of the community, namely the utilization of natural energy sources and resources, social prevention and care, and the conservation of the environment.

The present problem of youth unemployment cannot be solved within the framework of the educational system alone. The contribution which can be made by the educational system is an offer to the unemployed to utilize the time for education within the same structure as has been described for the residual group. For the young unemployed more importance should also be attached to actual alternative production with actual earning of wages. At the same time great importance should be attached to the social-oriented aspects of the teaching they receive.

For the problem of the residual group as well as youth unemployment society has a responsibility to see to it that the right to education and the right to work are transformed from theory to reality for the individual.

Finn Brandt-Pedersen Else Marie Sejer Larsen

Erik Jørgen Hansen Gunhild Nissen

Minority Statement on the U-90 Report by the Danish National Union of Students (DNUS)

A minority in the CCE (Martin Jespersen, representative of the DNUS) cannot support the main statement made by the majority in the CCE. As will appear, the DNUS agrees on many main points in the other minority statement on the U-90 report (made by Erik Jørgen Hansen, Gunhild Nissen, Finn Brandt-Pedersen and Else Marie Sejer Larsen), but nevertheless we would like to amplify DNUS' opinion of the U-90 report.

The Content and Importance of the U-90 Report

It is important to note that the U-90 report is a special type of planning which cannot directly be compared with the previous perspective planning reports, PP I and PP II, in the educational field, or with the comprehensive plan for the courses of further education (the CP plan), let alone with the Swedish equivalent, the U-68 report. These are all expressions of a fairly heavy-handed, detailed Government control. The U-90 report on the other hand is not an ordinary plan which can be implemented by technocrats, but a fairly impracticable vision of the future.

The idea behind the U-90 was – in the words of Mrs. Ritt Bjerregaard (May 1975) – that the general public 'is to participate in formulating the plan'. It was desirable to get the public to understand the nature of the problems in the educational sector and to win general ecceptance for the expenditure on education. In other words, the educational system is to be sold to the general public. The U-90 report is an attempt at making propaganda for an ideological backing of the present educational system with all its problems and imbalances. Already in May 1975 we made sceptical comments on the U-90 project, and we repeated our criticism in a supplementary statement on the so-called 'November statement' from 1975. The general public does not become involved in the formulation of the report by making a bureaucratic high-ranking body such as the CCE prepare an entirely abstract 'plan'. On the other hand, the actual problems and deficiencies in the educational system are considerably more relevant and interesting to the general public. In our opinion the present educational system is extremely criticizable in a number of respects:

- it sorts the children, contributes to creating and cementing inequalities in society,
- it is first and foremost of benefit to the privileged groups in society, and aims to a high degree rather uncritically at the demands put forwards by those who will be the employers of the students and pupils; this applies to the private as well as the public sector,
- the content of it is out of date, and education is to a high extent isolated from the surrounding community,
- it creates hierarchies as a result of the system of competition built into the courses,
- etc., etc.

If these circumstances are not used as a concrete basis, a plan like the U-90 report becomes meaningless, and it will float in a void. Consequently it is erroneous if the majority in the CCE expect that the 'voicing of general opinion' is a question of making the report easily read and of using everyday language.

Thus the U-90 report is a kind of propaganda drive on the part of the Ministry of Education and the Social Democratic

Party. But when it comes to the proposals for reforms in chapter X, the idealistic and visionary ideas go by the board, and instead some very pragmatic allowances are made for the composition of the Folketing and certain influential trade interest organizations, such as the Danish Employers' Confederation, and the Danish National Union of Teachers, etc. The U-90 report preaches idyll in society instead of discussing the actual conflicts between the classes or even the interest organizations.

What is then the purpose of such a vision of the future as regards the educational system of the 1990s, a 'planning' that bears no relation to the actual problems and conflicts of interests? Naturally not to change the educational system, it might be maintained. But it is in fact probably the most important function, even if the task is tackled indirectly. The U-90 report can divert the attention from the storm of short-term interventions in the educational sector that have been made over the last few years (for instance the abolishment of wages in the basic year within basic vocational training, the introduction of numerus clausus, etc.). The Government and the Ministry of Education can justify the injustices and repudiate criticism by saying that 'long-term planning efforts are in the pipeline, and we have in fact still some visions'. But behind the nice phrases here and there the U-90 report is to a large extent a compilation and an 'idyllization' of drastic current State interventions and 'plans' as regards the educational sector.

What is supposed to justify these encroachments is a philosophy of equality according to which adult education is to be expanded at the expense of further education. To this should be added that a very limited and mild reform is to be implemented as regards the education of the 16 to 19-years-olds. In fact mainly a redistribution of educational benefits among the generations. But nothing seems to indicate that this will be of benefit to those who have only completed a short course of study, the so-called residual group: The State and the Social Democratic Party have abandoned the ideology of equality from the 1960s which required a more equal social distribution of the intake to the upper secondary schools and the courses of further education, because the imbalances were not altered appreciably despite the steep rise in the intake to these courses in the 1960s, and because it requires too many resources. To this should be added that the U-90 report is not supported by facts in a number of respects – for instance exactly as regards the sorting function of the educational system – where it can be substantiated, and that not much is left of the original plan to have educational researchers participate in the drawing up of the U-90 report.

Finally the opinion of the CCE as regards the design of the system of adult education is very criticizable. The courses are classified according to the 4 'lives' they are to aim at: the working life, the community life, the family life, and the leisure-time life. This classification, according to which an educational offer is only to aim at one of the '4 lives', means that especially the courses of adult education – but also the other educational areas, are to be preserved in their present shape. They are to continue to cement the division of life found in the capitalistic society and the ensuing problems. If the extensive connections and the many divisions in the life of people are not to be taken up, education can only continue to be superficial teaching and occupational therapy. The report evades fundamental questions regarding the influence of social structure on the concrete employment situation, the importance of unemployment for the family, the separation of leisure-time and work, etc, etc. The instructive function of adult education is thrown completely into the background by their suppressive and preserving function. Instead of all kinds of superficial and more or less random course offers, importance should be attached to a preparation of adult education aiming at problems for groups with a common sum of experience and basis of interests. But the crux of the matter in the 'proposals for reforms' of the CCE is that the existing system of adult education is to have more resources without any big changes being introduced in the system. Thus the present situation would be maintained, in which those who are already privileged in terms of education are the ones who benefit from adult education, and not those who have only completed a short course of study.

As concerns the education of the 16 to 19-years-old it is striking and characteristic that the CCE evades the problems and lays a smoke screen which conceals the real problems especially the problems surrounding the traditional upper secondary school aiming at providing a general, non-socialist education, the problems in basic vocational training, and in general the problem concerning the attempt at fitting young people into narrow compartments. There are for instance not concrete proposals concerning more integration between common subjects and special subjects in basic vocational training, just as no attempts are made to tackle the essential problems concerning wages in the basic year and control of traineeships, for instance that the employers should offer and 'pay for' traineeships, whether they take on trainees or not.

The U-90 report is thus only a bubble in so far as the purpose of it is to make proposals for changes in the existing educational system. Consequently the nice intention of drawing the general public into the planning looks rather as an attempt at making people swallow the camel and rely upon the State and the Social Democratic Party to improve the educational system. Such confidence is perhaps needed as a counterweight to the drastic injustices to the working class which the Social Democratic Party accepts passively – or is even responsible for (especially in the present crisis), as well as to the current interventions and retrenchments in the educational sector. By way of example may be mentioned:

- a new Primary and Lower Secondary School Act which still operates with markings in the last forms, which still opens up the possibility of a streaming of the pupils in the 8th and 9th forms, and which contains a completely traditional range of subjects;
- adherence to or perhaps more rigorous conditions of admission to the upper secondary school; the result is that the pupils are to decide whether they want to continue in the upper secondary school already in the 7th form in connection with for instance choosing German as a subject;
- the introduction of numerus clausus for all courses of further education; this will partly increase youth unemployment and partly mean that the upper secondary school will become increasingly marking-oriented and examination-oriented, i.e. a stepping up of the rat race we already know;
- the abolishment of wages in the basic year of basic vocational training, while at the same time there is an acute lack of traineeships;
- general reduction of educational support forcing students to take a job at a time when there are 75,000 young people out of work;
- no special initiatives in the sector of adult education, apart from a *reduction* of the support to leisure-time education and evening classes;
- an increasing number of interferences in the sector of further education with a view to an uncritical adjustment to trade and industry, for instance the stopping of the health and safety at

work courses at the Roskilde University Centre.

All these facts and concrete interventions are something that is of importance to students and the general public, and not some ideas creating an illusion about the educational system of the 1990s. The various courses of study should be changed so that they are in the interest of the man in the street. Much better points of departure than the U-90 reports can be found in the initiatives of the Danish Semi-skilled Workers' Union (formerly The Danish General and Semi-skilled Workers' Union) as regards the criticism levelled against the middle-class and indoctrinating content of the history books, the co-operation between students and workers on the reports on occupational medicine (the report on painters etc.), the demands made by the brewery workers for an agreement covering parol educational leave, whose course content is to be decided upon by the workers themselves.

In the following sections this treatment of the U-90 report will be discussed in detail as regards some points in connection with a discription of the function of the educational system in the present society, a criticism of the educational system from kindergarten to adult education, and an outline of the proposals made by the DNUS for an educational policy characterized by more perspective.

The Function of Education in Society

The educational system is determined by economic and social trends, and by different interests in society. It is essentially the demands of trade and industry that make themselves felt in the educational system, but also the Labour movement, people at the place of work, and others (among them students) have made demands and have had some – albeit not very much – influence on the courses of education.

The main function of the educational system of today is thus to educate (qualify) the labour of to-morrow for the requirements of the trades (the 'customers'). This applies both to the actuel skills, the content and the norms to be learned. The labour of to-morrow must therefore be *sorted* and *qualified* in the educational system for the purely technical 'job functions', and finally be *adjusted to* the structure of society and trade and industry (socialized).

– *The sorting* is established early, already in primary and lower secondary school, and perhaps before. The reason is to a high extent the middle-class norms of the school, the theoretical and abstract language, the great importance attached to theoretical and abstract knowledge, etc. that favours children from the middle-class and the higher social strata. The sorting is expressed through the system of examination and markings, streaming, numerus clausus, etc. The sorting is defended so vehemently and is so deeply rooted that it is often experienced as 'just': 'I wasn't any good – I'm not as good as the others – I got lower marks', are very common expressions of resignation among the pupils who 'do not manage'.

– *Qualification* and *socialization* (adjustment) takes to a high extent place through the structure and content of the courses. It can often be difficult to determine what is adjustment and what is qualification. When for instance children are to learn to 'write nicely' it is both because they are to learn to write so that it can be read (qualification), and because they are to learn 'to be methodical', 'diligent', 'conscientious', etc. (adjustment). Primary school thus gives a number of more general basic qualifications, such as the ability to read, write, do arithmetic, etc., which both have socializing and qualifying aspects. Qualification has also something to do with the learning of more concrete knowledge which is taken for granted within various trades. Socialization is a question of adjusting to the existing power structure and structure of productive industry, i.e. that one learns to accept authorities, hierarchies, that the employer has a right to supervise and distribute the work, etc. Just as one learns 'virtues', conscientiousness, punctuality, diligence, frugality, modesty, etc. To this should be added a more common 'citizen socialization' which has something to do with for instance learning that politics has only something to do with Christiansborg, the seat of the Danish Folketing, that we live in a democracy etc. Socialization and qualification are found in all courses of study, however perhaps to a somewhat varying extent. Because of the dependency of education on the social system the teaching is prepared in such a way that the two things are interwoven and are often difficult to separate.

Although the educational system is thus heavily dependent on the trends in society, economic trends, and trade and industry, it is at the same time isolated from society and the productive industry. Education is almost exclusively carried on in State institutions – or isolated ghettos. It has not always been like this – at least not to the extent that is the case today. Before the breakthrough of industrialism almost all training and education took place in connection with production and in the homes, both within agriculture and handicraft. When in 1814 7 years of schooling was ordered, it was an idealistic venture and did not have important palpable effects until late in the 19th century. It was practised very gently, especially in the case of the lowest social classes, and there were also differences between town and country.

Industrialism and competitive capitalism – which advanced much more slowly in Denmark than in other European countries – brought about sudden changes for the lower classes at the end of last century. There was no longer need for a long continuous craftsmanlike training to manage the simple work of massproduction in the manufacturing firms, and child labour was allowed in addition to a number of other things. From the end of last century and up through this century the courses of education were gradually taken over by the State, and compulsory education became more and more of a fact. Among the reasons for this situation may be mentioned the fact that the individual employer is no longer able to – or does not want to pay for – the training to the same extent as previously, and thrusts the educational expenditure on the State, just as it gradually turns out that there is a social need for higher qualifications, i.e. longer period of schooling. But the educational service has constantly reflected the interests of the ruling classes by virtue of the power structure and the structure of productive industry.

This is a very brief and to some extent very rough description of the development. There have all the time been various trends. The development has been more complicated in the case of Denmark, first and foremost because of the late industrialization and a structure of the business sector which is characterized by a large agricultural sector and small – often craftsmanlike – firms. But the main trend has been towards a longer period of schooling, and the situation has been characterized by the State taking over more and more of the educational system.

In the 1960s there was an extraordinary development with regard to industrialization and economic growth, which meant a rather explosive expansion of the public sector, among other things, and this took in particular place within the sector of health and social care. The growth was a result of a need for increased and changed qualification of labour, but of course it was also a result of the favourable general conditions of trade.

The growth was first and foremost quantitative. In the 1970s the State and the Social Democratic Party have decided to adjust the courses of study to the labour market by very marked efforts. This has led to an attempt at 'planning' and a wide range of interventions which to a high extent are characterized by the economic crisis.

However, it turns out to be completely impossible for the State to plan in this society, because the 'requirements' of trade and industry and the individual firms are determined individually and in an anarchistic way, which the high rate of unemployment in fact indicates. What is left, then, of the 'educational planning' by the State is a large number of interventions; partly retrenchments to come to the rescue of the 'depressed business sector', and partly directly politically motivated interventions (as regards for instance the pupils at the courses of basic vocational training, or the Roskilde University Centre). The interventions of the State must be seen in connection with the advance of the right-wing forces (also within the Social Democratic Party), and are in step with the general function of the State in society.

We share the opinion expressed by the minority (Erik-Jørgen Hansen etc.) as to the possible direction of the development of society – on the basis of the trends we know today: it will be a society in which the State interferes with more and more of the aspects of community life (especially the fixing of wages, and the fields of operation of the Labour movement), and loyalty to the State is required. In short, a more repressive corporate State. This is a very probable perspective if it is not counteracted in all possible ways. Mr. Erhard Jacobsen, leader of the Central Democratic Party, and Mr. Glistrup, leader of the anti-tax Progressive Party, attack the few reforms and changes within the educational sector as a result of the boom of the 1960s, in which period experiments were more common. The attacks are very vehement in consideration of the fairly few and fragmentary social critical tendencies in the educational system of today. But even this limited activity in the current crisis is apparently enough to provoke such violent reactions from the right. All social criticism must be stopped. There must be total peace and order. Society and its present trends are to be accepted. We must not question the exploitation, oppression, etc. of the present society.

An almost corresponding stressing of the democratic and excellent character of our present society is expressed by the majority in the CCE; there 'is a limit' to criticism levelled against society: 'There should be a reasonable degree of acceptance of our political system, a positive attitude to our society' are phrases that may be found in the U-90 report.

Socity of today is characterized by limitation of the democratic rights, exploitation of large groups and classes, mass unemployment, deterioration of the environment and wearing down of people, incomes policy interfering with the labour movement's right to organize and call on strikes. We will not maintain that we are on the point of getting 'a German situation', but we should be aware of the fact that the argumentation presented by the CCE has led to 'Berufsverbot' in West-Germany, and to a demand that the teachers are to promise 'positive and active' loyalty to the present German State. We have had instances of a similar nature in Denmark, for instance the dismissal of Miss Marianne Kjær from a basic vocational school in Aarhus; the ground for the dismissal was that her opinions were not in accordance with the interests of trade and industry. Thus there is a trend towards a heavy indoctrination via the educational system to ensure loyalty and acceptance of the present society, planting the seeds of co-operation across the class barriers, etc. A trend that can result in fear and self-censorship in the groups that are subject to a smear campaign.

These aspects have been included in the perspective of the framing of the U-90 report, even though there are some nice and 'visionary' comments here and there.

The conception held by the majority in the CCE of a harmonious society in which the actual problems, points of criticism, and clashes of interest do not come out to the full extent, is characterized by a rather naive optimism as regards growth and progress. It is pretended that impracticable aims and wishes govern the course of the world. But the point of departure for understanding society and the trends in it must be the real conflicts of interest. From this stem in fact most of the actual problems in connection with the educational sector as well as the possibility that the present contions may be changed. The CCE neglects the conflicts of interests and does not lay the scene for noticeable changes of the educational system, because this might easily lead to conflicts. Even though the U-90 report contains a few points of defence for decentralized and local initiatives as regards efforts to do something about the problems that various groups of people meet with in the educational system, the opinions held by the CCE points towards a limitation of these initiatives and experiments, as the reform thoughts are almost exclusively considered from the point of view of the State or trade and industry. Such an oppressing development should be opposed very vigorously.

As the educational system is conditional upon the social and economic development as well as the relative strength between the various interest groups and classes, it is clear that the educational system cannot be changed in any decisive way unless society is changed qualitatively and radically. However, endeavours could be made to change the existing educational system despite the prevailing power structure.

Thus, the Labour movement and people on the job have made demands on the framing of the courses of study and levelled criticism against the present educational system. The sorting function of the school, the inequality of the educational system, the burgeois-orientation, and the outdated conditions have been exposed to criticism. Increased co-operation and solidarity between the Labour movement and critical pupils/students and teachers in the educational system are important prerequisites for changing these circumstances in the educational system.

Criticism of the Existing Educational System

The above section was a general discussion of the dependency of the educational system and its cemented function in relation to the capitalistic society. In the following we will give a brief and more concrete outline of our criticism of some important examples of this connection by considering the problems within the individual educational areas.

Today there is rather widespread confusion as regards the *pre-school situation* as a result of the different conditions in the various parts of the country. In most places there are nursery classes, but in some places the aim is to have kindergartens for all children, and there is a problem of a co-ordination of these institutions with a view to a 'smooth' start at school. There are also problems involved in looking after the children beyond the short time they attend nursery classes, where they are often left to passivating supervision, and where they are often just being 'parked'. Furthermore, it is a vast problem that the nursery classes are voluntary; as a result some children have attended these classes, whereas others – primarily children from socially and financially disadvantaged homes – will not attend nursery classes. It is also a problem that the staff at school, kindergarten, and nursery classes do not co-operate to a sufficient extent, and that they have different educational backgrounds.

The primary and lower secondary school attaches importance to theoretical skills, the faculty of abstraction, the 'formally correct' middle-class language, and competitiveness instead of concrete experience, integrated practical-theoretical activity and solidarity. This means that the children from the socially least advantaged class are 'discarded' at an early stage. They do not consider the school to be their own, and they react in different ways towards it. The result will then be that attempts are made – for instance through remedial instruction – to press them to accept the school as it is, via competition and markings, etc.

All the talk about a disciplinary crisis in the schools quite certainly stems from this 'clash of cultures' in the school, and it is not solved by sterner disciplinary measures, such as the right-wing forces preach. To this should be added the fact that the school is isolated from society and the productive industry outside the school – and these factors also contribute to the 'clash of cultures' in the school.

The division of the timetable into subjects and the lack of problem-orientation and co-ordination across the traditional subject boundaries augments the uncritical and isolated situation of the school. Finally should be mentioned streaming, the system of optional subjects, the examination system as important factors that cement the class character and the sorting function of the school.

All the empty phrases about equality, justice, and egalitarianism which are implanted in the minds of the children at school remain abstract moralizing, despite the good intentions of many teachers in this respect. This is due to the fact that the children experience vigorous refutations of these ethical principles every day in the school system, the rat race, and the school hierarchy. A contributory factor of importance is the extremely low influence of the pupils, and the poorly developed school democracy.

As regards the education of the 16 to 19-year-olds it is important to be aware of the many distinctly different types of schools. In these the sorting is easy to recognize – the sorting which was initiated already in the primary and lower secondary school. A large group (almost a third) continue in the upper secondary school. This group is primarily made up of pupils from the upper social groups. Another group embark on a course of vocational training (basic vocational training a course of training for apprentices, etc.) The recruitment for such courses is fairly even. Finally there is a large residual group of 25–30 per cent which will not get any education of any large duration after having completed the compulsory primary school. Socially and in terms of sex there is an imbalance in recruitment for the latter group, and during the last few years this has been tantamount to youth unemployment. Despite the boom in the 1960s there was no appreciable increase of the intake to the upper secondary school from the lowest social groups, and since the middle of the 1960s the residual group has been constant. At the same time a trend may be ascertained which indicates that the fall in the number of apprenticeships from the middle of the 1960s – (and the fact that the basic vocational training scheme does not compensate for this because of the low rate of expansion) – has resulted in an increased gap between those who have completed a higher course of education and those who have completed a short course of study. This is to understood in the following way: whereas many young people previously received a comprehensive apprenticeship training extending over approx 3 years – (despite all the defects of such a training) – the situation today is that quite a few young people will today receive a short vocational training (the

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training aimed at semi-skilled workers), whereas a slightly larger number of people will take a longer education as a technician or a junior technician, and perhaps also complete a course of further education. Quite a few of the students will thus be dequalified, and a few will improve their qualifications. The distance between top and bottom within the system of vocational training has been increased, which is directly contrary to the professed endeavours to obtain equality. (The substantiation of these circumstances may be found in the minority statement by Erik Jørgen Hansen and others). The Social Democratic Party has in fact supported this polarization and de-classification, while the party at the same time talked of equality through education.

The present *upper secondary school* is still heavily divided as regards subjects, branches, and sides, and it is still characterized by a traditional middle-class ideal of general education. The last few years have seen a stepping up of the rat race as a result of the numerus clausus based on credits required by the students who want to continue on a course of further education, and this does not improve the situation. The numerus clausus threatens to limit the minor developments and reforms that were in fact in progress as regards the professional and educational design of the upper secondary school.

The basic vocational training is decisively a step forward in relation to the traditional apprenticeships. However, it seems to cause difficulties to integrate the common subjects and the special subjects, despite the good intentions and promises. And the special subjects in basic vocational training are still very narrow and separate. Furthermore, it is a well-known fact that the abolishment of wages for pupils attending a course of basic vocational training, and the lack of traineeships threaten the continued development and existence of basic vocational training. The new Basic Vocational Training Act does in fact lay down that there is to be a system of apprenticeship training alongside a system of basic vocational training, which will weaken the position of basic vocational training – and it is also at variance with the previous plans.

The courses of further education have long been subject to criticism levelled by the students, and to a certain extent by the trade unions, for being too isolated and too conservative. There have been certain reforms, especially at the university centres, and partly at the old universities, whereas the colleges and institutes of higher education have often stagnated, or in some cases extremely technocratic modular studies have been introduced. During the last few years there have been a number of interventions and retrenchments, as well as an increased control, first and foremost motivated by political circumstances. Currently a comprehensive restructuring of the courses of further education is taking place in continuation of the so-called 'Comprehensive Plan for Further Education'. The numerous clausus system on the basic af examination results has been implemented with consequences for the courses qualifying for further education and for the courses of further education. The separation of research and teaching is considered to be the next stage in the 'planning'. This will partly mean a reduction of the standard of teaching – it becomes less critical and has less re-orientation – and partly that the academic standards are lowered. It will also mean a lowering of the standard of research, because it will not be criticized and passed on through teaching. It finally means reduced student and teacher influence on research. To this should be added technocratic reforms of the curricula coupled with increased examination race and student registration. All courses of education coming after the upper secondary school and the higher preparatory examination are to be more adjusted to the needs of trade of industry instead of the needs of the population. This is done through a detailed central control of the courses of education by the State. It can also be done by introducing 'intermediate leaving levels' – despite of the fact that these 'half' courses cannot be used for anything – and some new 'short courses of further education'; for these have been invented a number of impressive designations of occupation, which might interest various employers, but hardly anybody else. By way of example may be mentioned 'tourist consultant', and ducomentalist'.

All these interventions will make the courses of education uncritical and may have disastrous consequences, as can be seen in Sweden at the moment.

Finally should be mentioned that the tendencies to increase central control as regards almost all aspects (again the bugbear of Sweden), and the continued endeavours to change the administration laws will todally undermine the already very limited student influence.

Today *the field of adult education* is a widely ramified and split up system of courses of many different kinds, short or long, and with different content and aims. Adult education comprises evening classes, leisure-time education, single subjects at the higher preparatory level (courses preparing for an examination), labour market courses, and shop steward courses. The main criticism of this field is – (in addition to the increase of the amount to be paid by the participants in the courses, etc.) – that the courses of adult education are not relevant and attractive today for the socially least advantaged group, and the under-privileged groups in terms of education. The system of adult education will primarily comprise people from the groups that are already financially and educationally well-off (cf. the substantiation in the minority statement by Erik Jørgen Hansen and others). In our opinion this is in particular due to the fact that the extent of paid education within working hours is very limited, and that the content and aim is not relevant and attractive to these groups. The latter point stems from the separation of leisure-time education and hobby education for adult people on the one hand, and on the other courses preparing for an examination and qualifying for a vocation. Furthermore, it is due to the fact that adult education today is offered at random as 'bargains' in the supermarket, instead of aiming at homogenous target groups (for instance a group of jobless) and teaching based on experience which uses important problems of the group as the basis. The training and education aimed at the jobless covering relevant fields and problems is a field in which alarmingly little is happening.

Reaching-out activities are of course an excellent idea, but the 'case workers' must be persons in the same situation as the participants they are to go out and talk with.

Of course *teacher training* is important for all parts of the educational system. The courses are today sharply separate and rather different, depending on the area of the educational sector they are aiming at. A larger degree of integration between the various courses of teacher training may make the educational system more coherent. But when taking the present trends in society into account, it is very much to be feared that such co-ordination will be tantamount to increased centralized State control.

School practice activities are very insufficiently expanded within some courses of teacher training (in particular the upper secondary school teacher training). We would also like to point to the need for having educational, pedagogical and professional research attached to teacher training.

The insufficient educational support must be mentioned as an important problem affecting all students. Today it has been reduced and undermined so much that some people – in particular the socially least advantaged – are discouraged from embarking on a course of education, and others are prevented from completing a course of education they have already started on. It also results in an increased drop out rate and longer periods of study. The situation has of course been worsened as a result of the present job situation, where the possibilities of getting a job alongside the studies are very limited.

In conclusion should be mentioned the systems of examinations, assessment, and tests as a problem effecting all students and pupils. These systems are examples of the sorting in the school system, and the problems may be expected to grow within the next few years as a result of the numerus clausus in the entire system. It can be proved that examinations do not have any sensible educational value; examinations seldom measure what they are intended to assess, and they cannot assess anything very precisely. On the contrary, examinations have a negative pedagogical value by acting as a controlling factor on the educational activities in the course of the study period, and by splitting the subject matter up into subject matter that is relevant for the examination, and subject matter that is not. The aim of the educational activities will be the examination, not the discussion of some problems and the accumulation of new knowledge and new skills. The system of examinations should therefore be abolished altogether, or at least be limited to the widest possible extent (especially in the primary and lower secondary school), and be replaced by educational guidance offered by the teacher at regular intervals.

Perspectives of Reforms

The criticism of the capacity of reforms as stated by the U-90 majority (chapter X) is levelled at two points. The first is that generally the U-90 majority considers the possibilities of reforms and the changes in the educational system from the point of view of the central administration. The second is the fact that the chapter supposedly dealing with reforms hardly outlines any 'reforms'; but this is perhaps a manifestation of the so-called 'realpolitik' considerations paid to the parliamentary majority.

The U-90 majority finds that there should be a pause in the reforms within further education, but this probably does not mean that the interventions should be stopped, nor that the implementation of the proposals of the so-called Comprehensive Plan as to numerus clausus, reforms relating to the structures of the courses (modules), the separation of teaching and research, the introduction of registration of students, increased control by the central administration, etc., should be stopped. Furthermore the U-90 majority finds that on the whole the system of adult education should not be changed, but the majority does, however, recommend that adult education should get more resources. The majority does not mention anything about the possibilities of countering unemployment or remedying it via adult education. In relation to the primary and lower secondary school the majority talks about improved contact between the school and the surrounding community, a limited improvement in the co-ordination across the traditional subject boundaries, but there are not very many concrete proposals. As concerns the important educational bracket for the 16 to 19-year-olds the majority only proposes an adjustment, according to which a 'theoretical' main area with a basic year should be established alongside the other main areas within basic vocational training, (in fact nothing but a combination of the mathematics and language sides in the first form of the upper secondary school). The majority also talks about the possibility of trainee service in the 2nd and 3rd forms of the upper secondary school, perhaps some mixed-ability teaching, and otherwise a branching as the one we know today. It is quite absurd to call this a proposal for a reform for the 1990s. In fact these proposals preserve the bipartition of trainee service and theoretical work, and they promote an early specialization of choice of trade. The proposals do not say anything concrete about the ways of solving the problems of traineeships within such an upper secondary school, which would otherwise be a natural thing hen taking into account the large problems experienced today within the system of basic vocational training.

We would like to outline another perspective as an alternative to the conservative and centralized ideas of the U-90 majority: changes of the educational system obtained at the local level. In the present situation such changes must first and foremost be in the form of isolated projects which are implemented despite of the formal framework. If we outlined an overall programme for reforms, it would express an illusion about the structure of society and our political influence. The educational system is to a high extent subject to the economy of the nation and the political machinery of power.

With regard to the Social Democratic minority statement (Erik Jørgen Hansen, etc.) we would like to add some critical comments on the section dealing with reforms. Of course we do not disagree that all adults who have completed less than 12 years of schooling should have a possibility of supplementing their education until they have completed 12 years of education. This demand – as well as others – are important, but it is equally important that firstly it is recognized openly that they can only be met through radical changes of society and the existing power structure, and secondly that one will work to carry through these changes. On the other hand the minority group declares itself content with stating how the educational system 'ought to be', thus endorsing the legitimating function of the majority statement. Taken as a whole the statements of the majority and of the minority become a propaganda drive for the educational policy of the State and of the Social Democratic Party, this educational policy can comprise fairly radical proposals for reforms, and provide scope for opinions that differ, exactly because there are no commitments whatsoever. All of it is something that they 'would like to do'. Such radical but quite abstract assurances are inseparable elements in the policy of the Social Democratic Party but they do not prevent a 'pragmatic attitude' or 'responsibility' that imply on injustice to the working class after the other. These high-flying ideas happen to be presented every time the Social Democratic Party introduces measures to cut real wages and salaries, interferences in collective bargaining, retrenchments in the social budgets, and so on; sometimes the party chooses another variant of lame excuses: the Denmark of today is after all different from the Denmark of the 1920s, or the developing countries. Consequently the minority statement would have been more reliable of it had not jumped from an excellent criticism of the educational system and the trends in society to a number of – also excellent – proposals, but had also outlined the forces maintaining the existing social structure, and what is needed to change the situation. This would imply a criticism of the loyalty of the Social Democratic Party to for instance the Federation of Danish Industries and the Danish Employers' Confederation, and instead of consistently attaching importance to the necessity of working to get decentralized educational projects, the group ends by advocating State control of such projects. It is not made clear, either, that decentralized groups must have a political function if the educational project it to comprise common interests as regards some of the social problems which the minority group is aware of. No bland talk is called for if a group for instance sets itself the aim of finding out the extent to which the State is responsible for large number of carcinogenic substances we are in contact with every day. It should also be mentioned that the minority group advocates the illusion that the problem in connection with educational support, the residual group, and youth unemployment can be solved through State initiatives.

In this economic crisis we should first and foremost combat reductions of standards. At the local level many pupils/students work together with a local group of parents or residents, the workers at a place of work, or a trade union prepare undivided teaching with another content than the one offered in the primary and lower secondary school, or a social critical project within the framework of further education. Correspondingly, it is possible at the local level to fight the effects of the system of examinations and assessment, fight for local student/pupil influence, the phasing out of school bureacracy, the disintegration of the boundaries between the subjects, and the individual methods of work.

The most important thing is, however, that we fight against the middle-class content in teaching everywhere in the system. In the present political situation it is a question of fighting to ensure that in the individual subjects the work is concentrated on critical discussion of actual social problems, for instance, youth unemployment, the problems of sex roles, the background to the decline of real wages and salaries, the rent increases, and incomes policy.

This struggle for another content and against the sorting in the educational system already takes place today in many places. But of course this struggle has a larger perspective in the long term. It points towards a 12-year comprehensive school, where the interests and norms of the lower social classes are primarily to be used as a basis. To make it completely clear we can say that a compulsory 12-year school with the present middle-class content – primarily on the basis of middle-class norms – would do more harm than good. On the whole, it is of no use today to make such general demands, as the progressive movements are not sufficiently strong to force them through. Consequently we must fight within the individual school/educational institution. But the demands are still to point in the right direction.

On the basis of the aims to have a comprehensive school we must today fight against the anti-social system of optional subjects. It may seem as if we want a restriction of freedom. But today we only have a liberalistic 'freedom' that is only an illusion. If the pupil does not choose German in the 7th form because he comes from a social environment that is not prepared for much theoretical work, then he has almost cut off his possibilities for completing a course of further education.

In further education the student movement must – in co-operation with other progressive groups of the population – work to maintain and expand the possibilities of social-critical activities, including in particular the disintegration of the isolated and conservative function of the universities, and the institutes of higher education, and work to break the privilege of education. This could be done by continuing the project work in co-operation with the Labour movement, workers, and other groups of the population. This also requires that the centralized administration and the interventions in an extension of the Comprehensive Plan are opposed, and that there are internal efforts on progressive curricula that open up the possibility of more solidary methods of work, more relevant social-critical studies, and that the undesirable consequences of the system of examinations and the numerus clausus are opposed.

The financial position must be improved considerably for all students, so that they will get educational support that cover the actual cost of living. Consequently we disagree with the majority of the CCE, which after all finds that everybody within the system of youth education should be supported equally with grants, whereas it finds it 'natural' that a mixture of grants and loans are used within the system of further education. Firstly it is only a wish 'in principle' for grants within the system of youth education, but the majority does not make clear that the actual cost of living is to be covered. Secondly the courses of further education are also a social concern which society should pay for, whereas loan schemes have the result that education becomes the investment of the individual. At this point we would like to stress that it is madness that jobless people are cut off from embarking on a course of education as they are in the present situation, and that something should be done to change this circumstance. The CCE has undertaken the task of preparing a comprehensive proposal to solve the problems of educational support. But the aim does not really seem to be to find an actual solution to the problems, but rather a temporary relief of the pressure put on the Minister to solve the problems. We must demand that these problems are solved right away.

In the field of adult education we are not in a position to make proposals for central reforms. We do not find that much is won by a quantitative extension of the existing system, as the U-90 majority has suggested. Progressive groups should also in this respect lead the way and show that it is possible to have adult education using as its basis the experience of the lower social classes, and where it is possible to take an active attitude to conflicts, both during working hours and in the leisure-time. In connection with this we would like to point to the brewery workers who in connection with the negotiation of the latest agreement demanded the right to attend courses of study, which are to be paid for by the employers, but controlled by the workers themselves. Such courses have proved to be valuable in Italy, where they have the so-called 150-hours courses, where the workers themselves decide what the content of the courses is to be, who are to participate, and when the courses are to run. This system will in fact ensure that the teaching becomes target group-oriented as regards specific groups with common interests, needs, and experience, for instance a group of workers of the same line of business, or a group of jobless people.

Today there is very limited experience as regards the co-operation between groups of students/teachers and workers/unemployed on courses in relevant social-critical problems. This is the type of experience we should build on – not on what a bureaucratic body like the CCE will think out. Thus it is not *our* aim to mobilize the population to support the present educational system with all its imbalances and irrelevant teaching, which however, is the aim of the U-90 majority – corresponding to the words of Mrs. Ritt Bjerregaard about 'winning more acceptance' in the general public for the educational expenditure.

Minority Statement made by the Joint Committee of Students and Pupils (JCSP)

The JCSP can on important points subscribe to the criticism levelled against the report of the CCE majority by the DNUS in its minority statement.

This applies in particular to the fact that the U-90 report does not take a position on the actual social problems and the conflicts of interests, but it also applies to the criticism of the system of systematizing 'the 4 lives', and the sparingness and vagueness characterizing the chapter dealing with proposals for reforms.

On the other hand we cannot subscribe to the opinion of the DNUS that the U-90 is a 'fairly impracticable vision of the future'. It appears quite clearly from passages in the introduction to the chapter dealing with proposals for reforms, and the concluding passages of the summary in the U-90 report that the report must be considered to be an element in a more extensive complex of reforms involving 'other reform endeavours' in progress, which also in future will 'be introduced both by stages as regards the time aspect and separately for the individual elements of the educational system or across the boundaries between a few of the various sectors of the system'. The U-90 report must therefore be considered to be an element in the conservative planning of the Ministry, and it is hardly a reliable basis for assessing the total planning endeavors. In our opinion it may be discussed whether U-90 does not ultimately amount to a supplement aimed at the public for justifying the actual planning of the Ministry. Among the pivots in this planning we would like to mention by way of example the bill tabled twice concerning a decision in principle on the 10th to 12th years of education, and the planning in progress on further education, which Mr. Niels Hermansen, Director General, submitted to the CCE as early as in September 1976.

If we compare these central initiatives, which are only a few examples among many others (pilot schemes and bills, etc.) with important working papers from the CCE (including in particular the memo from Mr. Erik Ib Schmidt from February 1977 on equality-oriented educational policy and the adjustment of the educational system to the labour market) and the account made in U-90, we will get an outline of a complex of reforms with a considerably more unambigous perspective than the apparent openness which the account made in U-90 will alone give reason to expect.

In short, we consider it probable that through the U-90 report the Ministry tries to get wide support for a general plan for the entire educational system with the co-operation of the CCE and the other educational committees; this plan has already been designed in outline by a narrow circle in the Ministry of Education.

It is our view *that* this planning is primarily aimed at increasing the competitiveness of Danish trade and industry through adjustment of the educational system to the structural changes in the labour market, and *that* the main features of the planning are in accordance with the ideas of a co-ordination of the national educational system within the EEC which have been most clearly outlined in the educational plans of the Council of Europe (in Denmark published as early as in 1972 in the book 'Lifelong Education/Development').

On the basis of this our criticism of the educational planning is first and foremost levelled against the manipulating and undemocratic procedure of drawing the general public into a debate on education on such an inadequate basis. Secondly, we must urgently warn against the realization of an educational system according to the guidelines laid down by the Council of

Europe, and which are advocated by the EEC. The system in question is an integrated system which through the application of modern management methods endeavours to get a maximum of adjustment of the students to the needs of modern business for flexibility, independence, and frictionless adaptation. The system is based on a widely qualifying primary school as a preparation for a more extensive differentiation and flexibility in a system of lifelong further education, structured on regional centres, and based on modules giving credits, and passes on via a multimedia system.

A key element in the realization of such a system is a rearrangement of the 10th to 12th years of education, so that it becomes the first stage in a system of adult education with a modular structure, i.e. exactly what was the aim of the proposal made by the Minister of Education for this educational level. According to the planning of the Council of Europe further reform work is to take place as a gradual softening of the traditional system of further education, i.e. exactly what is implied by the planning for further education with single subject courses, short courses of study, regionalization, and the extension of institutions (for instance prepared through the powers given to the Minister in 1976 to establish and close down departments at the institutions of higher education).

These points of resemblance which are only indicated here, are actually considerably more extensive, which anybody can see by comparing the material published by the Council of Europe with the *total* activities of the Ministry.

The U-90 report does not contain a comprehensive picture of the current planning endeavours. But it is our opinion that the account in 'Our Conception of the Society of Tomorrow' prepared for the CCE by a debate group in June 1977, contains what is closest to the intentions which must be assumed to underlie the planning in the Ministry of Education:

'There will be a need of increased educational efforts if Danish firms are to hold their own in the keen international competition. But there must be a change in the educational structure in relation to the tendencies that have strongly influenced the 1960s. In future there will not be a need for continued increases of the capacity of the traditional university courses aiming at employment within the civil service within the central administration, health service, and educational sector including research, as well as the courts.

On the other hand there will be a stronger need for expanding a wider spectrum of courses with a new content, or at least a new combination of well-known elements that are in particular aiming at vocational applications, including the application in new vocational fields.

As concerns content, the development seems to go towards a system of more extensive courses of basis education supplemented with a superstructure with a widely differentiated content, and extending over a varying number of years, and of varying degrees of difficulty. A strong element of practical vocational guidance – both with a view to general and special vocational qualifications – will be a characteristic of these courses.

As regards level they will be placed so that they cover the entire range from the 9th year in primary and lower secondary school up to almost 20 continuous years of education. To this should be added an extensive offer of adult education and retraining for updating at a later stage.' (The Debate Group, the Society of the 1990s, A Report as a Basis for Deliberations on the Educational Policy of the Future. June 1977).

In our opinion there is nothing in the total sum of reforming endeavours in – and in connection with – U-90 that hampers the realization of these visions, whereas there is a number of factors that renders it possible. The fact that the body of the main report does not present the planning as a totality must be attributed to the strategic deliberations in connection with the realization of the planning. The nature of these deliberations is propably described rather aptly by the Swiss Professor Pierre Further, who in another context says:

'The comparison of national projects with a prototype or model of a complete system of lifelong education can imply radical changes and even a brutal switch from one type of organization to another. On the other hand, to take the direction of change as a starting – point and then attempt to define a pattern of development applicable on a European basis clearly implies the adoption of a reformist approach.

This method corresponds to the one used by American research workers in the field of education who favour the idea of a constant revision of curricula. Rather than make shattering changes, it is preferable to introduce reforms in small doses – limited but coherent. Introducing an overall, finalized model causes alarm amongst those who are politically on the left as well as on the right and amongst parents and teachers. Progressive reform is more readily acceptable because it corresponds to a degree of change which each, at his own level, can assimilate.'

These are the words of an experienced educational planner, and there is hardly any reason for assuming that the planners in this country should be less qualified. Incidentally, Professor Furter is a member of the steering group of the Council of Europe which has to do with lifelong education, and which visited the Roskilde University Centre, and the Royal Danish College of Educational Studies in 1976.

On the basis of the above-mentioned point the JCSP cannot subscribe to the term 'equality-orinted educational policy' as an adequate definition of the intentions of the planning. The elements of equality-orientation contained in the U-90 report have at the same time 2 other functions which stand out more clearly in the light of the demands from a general structural adjustment in the labour market, and in the educational system. The measures promoting equality at the preschool and primary school levels are thus just as much an element in a generally qualifying – and thus also 'mobility promoting'-basis for a differentiated further education with a modular structure. The disintegration of the 'rigid compartments' determined by privileges in the present educational system are just as much measures promoting adjustments with a view to improving the competitiveness of trade and industry under the structural adjustment.

A common feature of the 'equality-oriented educational policy' is the stressing of methods, process, and the 'to learn to learn' pedagogic as a preparation for changes. The JCSP finds it advisable to warn against this tendency in general in order to move the importance from educational content to form. The need of the general public for insight and knowledge must not be ignored for the benefit of the demand of trade and industry for flexibility and mobility.

The CCE also indicates in the deliberations on the society of tomorrow that at the same time increased equality will to an increasing extent be a necessity for the prevention of the expected social conflicts within the next few years in connection with constant rearrangements of structures. It is, however, primarily a question of regulating inequality between the group of wage earners (first and foremost those who have completed a higher course of education), and will therefore rather appear to be an element in an incomes policy. In the longer term it is, however, more than doubtful whether the end result will be more equality or only a redistribution in accordance with market-oriented criteria.

In our opinion the total complex of reforms contained in the U-90 report implies to an even higher extent the prerequisites for the realization of an EEC-adjusted and *marketoriented* educational policy than a step towards more equality.

We finally find that there is reason to look more closely at the set of concepts called 'the four lives'. With this framework of systematizing, which is already used in the educational debate, the chairman of the CCE has found an efficient tool for blurring and obscuring the basic conflicts in society, such as also other minority statements emphasize. The attention is diverted from the root of the conflict and the differences in the capitalistic society through a conceptual justification of the separation of economic, political, cultural, and social aspects of community life – which is the actual distinction between the terms family life, leisure life, working life, and community life. The use of the concept 'the four lives' contributes to cementing the conservative distinction already in the primary school in the belief that there are deeply-rooted connections in the community life. The socialization and qualification with this end in view is therefore a contributory factor in maintaining – not only democracy and a community governed by law as concepts of values – but also the politically one-sided conceptions of the capitalistic society as a pluralistic interaction of many different forces (political, economic, cultural, and social).

In continuation of these viewpoints the JCSP must warn against the tendencies to one-sided identification of the social system in the Western capitalistic countries with the term 'democracy' and 'community governed by law' as opposed to the majority of dictatorships in the rest of the world. This is one of the seeds – undoubtedly not intentionally planted by the CCE – for the development of a demand for loyalty which may lead far further than abstract belief in democracy and a community governed by law. The situation in West Germany is a scaring example of such a trend.

The JCSP does not find that a minority statement offers the possibility of formulating a well-founded alternative to the planning contained in the U-90 report, but in conclusion we would like to point to the necessity of putting this basis of an educational reform in its entirety before the general public for *democratic debate*, and that allowance is made in the educational planning for the needs of the students and pupils to get insight into nature and society in the form of contributory influence and coherent and scientifically founded curricula.

The Composition of the Central Council of Education since May 15, 1975, on which Date the Council Initiated the Work on the U-90 Report

Appointed by the Minister of Education

Erik Ib Schmidt	Permanent Secretary of State, member and *Chairman* of the Council as from December 1, 1975. Chairman to August 31, 1975: *Erling Jørgensen*, Undersecretary of State. From September 1 to November 30, 1975: *Inge Thygesen*, acting chairman.
Inge Thygesen	Consultant, D.Sc. (Econ.), *Vice-chairman*.
Thor A. Bak	Professor, Ph.D.
Finn-Brandt Pedersen	Reader.
Erik Jørgen Hansen	Director of a research institute.
Jørgen Hesseldahl	Director of the Technical School, Odense.
Else Marie Sejer Larsen	Senior master with special duties, member from Juli 1, 1976.
Helge Larsen	Ex-minister of education.
Gunhild Nissen	Professor, D. Educ., member from July 1, 1976.
Jörgen Weibull	Professor. fil.dr.

Gunhild Due and Eigil Brinch, principal, were members until June 30, 1976.

The Chairman of the 4 sector educational councils are members as from November 1, 1975, and until that date they were appointed to advise the Council.

Holger Knudsen	Director General, the Educational Council for Primary Schools.
Kaj Varming	Senior master, Chairman of the Educational Council for Continued Schooling as from July 1, 1976.
Ole Wivel	Author and manager of a publishing firm, as from December 1, 1975 chairman of the Council for Further Education. Retired on December 31, 1977. His place taken from February 2, 1978 by *Morten Knudsen*, Director of the College of Technology.
Knud Erik Larsen	Principal of a high school, Chairman of the Educational Council for Youth and Adult Education.

Appointed by organizations

Hans Øhrstrøm	Managing director, representative of *the Danish Employers' Confederation*. Member to October 11, 1977.
Arne Lund	Managing director, member from October 11, 1977.
Erik Tøttrup	Assistant Manager, deputy for Hans Øhrstrøm and Arne Lund.

Knud Øllgaard	Farmer. *The Federation of Danish Smallholders' Societies, the Federation of Danish Agricultural Societies, and the Joint Council of Danish Farmers' Co-operative Societies.*
H. P. Knudsen	Head of department, deputy for Knud Øllgaard.
Erik Nielsen	Consultant, representative of *the Danish Federation of Trade Unions,* member to June 30, 1976.
Finn Thorgrimson	Secretary, representative of *the Danish Federation of Trade Unions,* member from July 1, 1976.
Niels Enevoldsen	Consultant, deputy for Erik Nielsen and Finn Thorgrimson.
Jørgen Jensen	Senior Master, chairman of *the Danish National Union of Teachers.* Representative of *the Danish Joint Council for Organizations of Government Employees and Public Servants.*
Kirsten Stahlknecht	Deputy for Jørgen Jensen.
Torben Rode	Lecturer at a teacher training college, representative of *the Teacher Organizations,* member to June 30, 1976.
Kurt Stolt	Secondary school teacher. Deputy for Torben Rode to June 30, 1976.
Kaj Varming	Senior master, representative of the *Teacher organizations,* member to June 30, 1976.
Ole Storm	Principal of an evening institute. Deputy for Kaj Varming to June 30, 1976.
Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen	Managing director, representative of the *Central Organization of University Graduates,* member from July 1, 1976.
Knud Bent Hey	Head of Department. Deputy for Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen.
Kirsten Kjersgaard	Senior Master. representative of the *Central Organization of Teachers,* member from July 1, 1976.
Bjarne Pedersen	Principal of a youth school. Deputy for Kirsten Kjersgaard.
Martin Pedersen	University student, representative of *the Danish National Union of Students.*
Susanne Christensen	Student teacher. *The Joint Committee of Pupils and Students.*
Torben Møger Petersen	Deputy for Susanne Christensen to August 31, 1976.
Poul Erik B. Nielsen	Deputy for Susanne Christensen from September 1, 1976.
Svend Christensen	Vice chairman of the county council. Representative of *the Federation of County Councils.*
Poul Bjørnholt	Deputy head of department. Deputy for Svend Christensen.
Kristian Thule Hansen	Burgomaster, representative of *the National Association of Local Authorities.*
Ib Juul	Burgomaster. Deputy for Kristian Thule Hansen.

Observers

Mogens Pihl	Professor, Ph.D., observer for *the Planning Council for Research,* to November 30, 1977.
Flemming Woldbye	Professor, Ph.D., observer for *the Planning Council for Research* from December 1, 1977.

The following persons from other ministries have participated as contact men

Bo Christensen	Educational inspector, the Ministry for Greenland.
Gert Nielsen	Educational inspector, the Directorate for Maritime Training.

The following persons from the Ministry of Education have participated

Bjørn Brynskov	Permanent Secretary of State.
Asger Baunsbak-Jensen	Director General, the Directorate for Primary and Lower Secondary Education and Teacher Training.
Rikard Frederiksen	Director General, the Directorate for the Upper Secondary Schools and the Higher Preparatory Education.
O. I. Mikkelsen	Director General, the Directorate for Vocational Training.
Niels K. Hermansen	Director General, the Directorate for Further Education.
Preben Larsen	Director General for the Directorate for Building.
Ernst Goldschmidt	Permanent Undersecretary of State, the Department for Planning and Budgeting.
Niels Hummeluhr	Assistant Undersecretary of State, the Planning Office.
Lauge Dahlgaard	Consultant, Economico-statistical Division.

Eli Biker, Assistant Head of Department and Charlotte Wilhelmsen, Assistant Head of Department, Stig Göbel, General Inspector of Education have been secretaries to the Council.

Bente Ørum

Appendix 1

Factors Determining Choice of Education[1])

Educational Aspirations, Wishes, and Expectations

When asking the question: what determines the way of various groups of young people through education and occupation, it is obvious to start with the young people's own wishes about a vocation.

In the survey of youths and their work and career carried out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research, which was initiated in 1968, and which has followed the same groups of young people, young people at the age of 14, 16, 19 have been asked what they would want to do when they grew up if they were completely free to choose. Most of them mentioned occupations of a kind that in advance could be considered to be realistic for them to get when taking into account such factors as schooling or social background. It was found that the less schooling the young people had or expected to get, the less educational background was required in the occupations they stated. It was found that the lower the social status[2]) of their parents, the lower was the social status of the occupation chosen (table 1).

It was however worth noticing that very few people wanted unskilled work, and that youths taken as a group wanted a slightly better position than they could be expected to get on the basis of the present structure of positions. (Fridberg 1976, Nørregaard 1976).[3])

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[1]) Using the surveys of the Danish National Institute of Social Research as a basis, the memo intends to give a brief description of the way of various groups of young people through education and to occupation. When the memo was prepared the impression was that the residual group was to be dealt with separately, for which reason this memo does not deal with the problems in this respect.

[2]) Here and in the following social status is taken to mean a division into 5 groups according to occupation, number of subordinates, and formal occupation:

Social group I
Self-employed people with large enterprises, salaried employees in top positions (with more than 50 subordinates), and university graduates (5 per cent of the population).

Social group II
Self-employed people with medium-sized enterprises and executives (with 10–50 subordinates). (10 per cent of the population).

Social group III
Self-employed people with small enterprises, salaried employees doing work which is not of a routine nature. (39 per cent of the population).

Social group IV
Self-employed people with small enterprises, salaried employees doing work which is of a routine nature, and skilled workers. (23 per cent of the population).

Social group V
Unskilled workers. (23 per cent of the population).

It should be noted that income is *not* included in this classification.

[3]) It is however difficult to examine the ambitions of the parents on behalf of their children, because when asked the parents frequently say that they have no wishes, and that the young person himself is the one to decide, or something like that. This can however not be taken to mean that parents do not have such wishes or ambitions; it is however more likely to be a social convention according to which one should not voice such ambitions.

In 1973 when young people at the age of 19 (i.e. after they had left primary and lower secondary school), were asked whether they would have liked to stay on at school, it is correspondingly found that if they want to stay on they would in most cases want a schooling which is *slightly* better than the one they have. They would typically like to have a 10th form or reál examination if they have 9th form, higher preparatory examination if they have reál examination, etc. (Table 2). The same pattern is found when young people are not asked what they want, but instead what they except or what they plan as regards a general education and any education giving qualification.

Consequently it must be ascertained that educational wishes and expectations are to a wide extent a question of what the individual has "learned" (at home, at school, and perhaps in occupational employment), to be reasonable for him or her to expect. One is permitted to wish for slightly more but rarely a great deal more.

However, from this cannot be concluded that generally the young people get what they want, and what they consider to be desirable. In 1968 young people in the 7th form were given a description of some groups of pupils and were asked how they believed that such pupils would be placed after streaming. More than 90 per cent of the pupils agreed that those who continued in the reál department were those with well-to-do parents; those who think farthest; those who strive for the good and permanent positions, and finally those who were likely to want to be slightly more than the others. Furthermore, more than 80 per cent thought that they were the ones who were later to do something interesting, and those who later on would have a secure permanent job. Correspondingly, 90 per cent or more of the young people agreed that those who did not get into the reál department but continued in the 8th to 10th forms or left school were those who wanted to take the easy way out, without getting too much responsibility and trouble; those who were reluctant to do something; those who were making a lot of trouble; and finally those who were most childish. (Table 3). (Friedberg 1976).

It has previously been shown that the lower the social status of the parents, the less schooling the young person has, or the lower the status of the occupation of the young person, the more frequently will he or she point to an ideal occupation which has a lower social status, and which requires less educational background. It would be tempting to believe that young people who according to the common norms are "disadvantaged" are also less interested in the amenities following from having a "good" position: high income, prestige, influence, and power. In the survey of youths and their work and careers the young people were asked how important these factors were for the future work of the young people. (Ørum 1974). And the answers regarding the above-mentioned aspects followed a uniform pattern, namely that the less schooling the young people had, and the lower the status of their occupation, the *higher* was the number of people who found it important or very important that their future work would mean that they could earn a lot of money, that the work would offer prestige among people in general, and that they would get influence and power. Thus, this does *not* support the view that the individual youth act as if education is an investment, so that those who find that they want a high income, influence, and a great deal of prestige are also those who in actual fact make most efforts to obtain these things. This can be due to the circumstance that when the young people gave the answers they had different points of departure and different norms, but at the same time this also emphasizes the point that problems may arise if an educational policy is based on young people's wishes.

If we consider whether young people are satisfied with their occupation, we get an additional stressing of the fact that the various groups of young people also have the norms found in the rest of the community. 95 per cent of upper secondary pupils of the age of 18 to 19 say that they quite definitely or perhaps would have chosen upper secondary education if they were to choose now, but only 55 per cent of unskilled workers would quite definitely or perhaps have chosen to be unskilled. (Table 4). (Ørum 1974).

By way of conclusion it can be ascertained that young people's wishes as regards education and occupation are generally "realistic"; this is to be understood in the sense that their wishes can be met when taking into account the schooling and social background of the young people. But at the same time the persons striving for positions that are not at such a high level or who want less schooling have adopted the common norms as concerns what is desirable. The wishes, values, and norms of young people are thus mutually contradictory. In terms of educational policy this means that even if the placing in terms of education and occupation was determined only by young people's wishes, then this would not ensure that they got what was best in relation to their own values. As it is not possible to demonstrate that the superior values experienced are the ones governing the occupational and educational wishes of young people and their choices, we shall have to try to consider which other factors influence this choice.

The Social Background

Since the turn of the century an interest has at intervals been shown for the connection between the education of children and young people and their family background.

In the 1960s the work on this complex of problems was intensified in this country and in the rest of the Western world. At the beginning the courses of further education and upper secondary education were especially in the limelight, and in this country the work was primarily carried out by the Institute for Organization and Work Sociology at the Copenhagen School of Economics and Business Administration, and at the Danish National Institute of Social Research (Christensen and Sørensen 1966, and Hansen 1968, Hansen 1971). The surveys from the middle of the 1960s showed that the lower the social status of the father, the less was the chances of the child getting into upper secondary school, and the lower was the number of children who continued in a course of further education; for instance, 56 per cent of the young people from the highest social group, social group I, came into upper secondary school, but only 2 per cent from the lowest group, social group V (Hansen 1968). Since then the number of upper secondary pupils has more than doubled. If we however consider the children who have benefited from this expansion, we find that it is *not* first and foremost those from the lowest social groups, but in fact those from the middle and the highest social groups (figure 5). In order to ensure a more socially equal distribution it is thus not sufficient to increase the number of educational places. (Hansen 1973).

The survey furthermore showed that the 2-year parallel education established in 1967, higher preparatory education, had a different – and more equal – social recruitment than upper secondary education, and this circumstance offset the social imbalance to a certain extent. (Figure 6). (Hansen 1973). The fact that the surveys which were initiated in the middle of the 1960s were focused to such an extent on upper secondary education was not due to the circumstance that it was thought to be the best thing for all 16 to 19-

year-olds to get an education which was solely theoretical. On the contrary, the wish was expressed that the élite in the community would get a more equal composition, and at the same time a concern was expressed from several quarters that the "intelligence reserve" among young people was large enough to cover the increasing demand for people with a long education. It was however found that there was no need for worry as concerns the latter aspect. (Hansen 1971).

The research can also be taken as an expression that the politicians considered upper secondary education to be the most important, and the one giving most prestige. Now that we have a description of aspects of how it works in relation to various groups of young people, it is also easier to take a political attitude as to whether it is desirable to maintain an education working in this way.

The various types of education have different effects on the aspects examined. If all courses are included there is a more general picture, namely that the more *theoretical* and the *longer* a course is, the higher will be the number of young people from the higher social groups, and the lower the number of young people from the lower social groups.

The courses aimed at 16 to 19-year-olds can be arranged according to rank in accordance with *the social composition* of the group of students in the following way: upper secondary education, higher preparatory education, basic vocational training, apprenticeship training, and finally the residual group (those who get no education the first few years after having completed primary and lower secondary education). (Platz, Mærkedahl, and Hansen, 1975). In relative terms there is a majority in upper secondary school from the higher social groups, and very few from the lower – in the residual group it is the other way round (figure and table 7). However, there has been a certain equalization of the social composition in upper secondary education. Whereas in the period 1913 to 1946 2 to 4 per cent of all upper secondary pupils were working-class children, and 5 to 6 per cent were children from families of farmers, each of these groups constituted upwards of 10 per cent in 1966 (figure 8), and whereas the unskilled workers in 1965 constituted 4 per cent of upper secondary pupils, they constituted 7 per cent in 1973 (figure 9). During the last decade there has been a continuous fall in the number of young people who want vocational training, whereas the residual group among 19-years-olds (as defined above) has remained constant, both as regards size and recruitment. The proportion of a year group of young people not pursuing studies giving vocational qualification is today 23 to 25 per cent (Ørum 1975).

We also find a social imbalance in primary and lower secondary school (figure 10). Those who leave school early are to a higher extent pupils from the lower social groups, and those who continue in the reál department are to a higher extent young people from the higher social groups. It is correspondingly found that children of unskilled workers receive remedial instruction more frequently, and that they more frequently have problems at school, etc. (Kruse 1971, Nord-Larsen and Vedel-Petersen 1975). The new Primary and Lower Secondary School Act 1975 offering freedom of choice as regards individual subjects and levels has in fact not changed this trend. It can be hoped that it has become less pronounced.

There are also certain differences – which are however small – determined by the social status of the parents as regards whether a child starts in pre-school class or not. A survey from 1974 showed that 70 per cent of the children from social group I were admitted to pre-school class, compared with 53 per cent of the children from social group V, and 35 per cent in the cases where the mother was the sole bread-winner. (Nord-Larsen 1975).

At the beginning of 1977 the Danish National Institute of Social Research will be able to give details on children who start in kindergarten.

In order to find out what creates continued social imbalance in the educational system, we shall have to consider more closely the aspects in the affiliation to a social group influencing the education of a child.

The Financial Circumstances of Parents

The conclusion which immediately suggests itself is that the demonstrated differences as regards social groups are in actual fact an expression of the circumstance that parents in the different social groups have different financial abilities – in other words, some parents can better afford to give their children an education.

It is extremely difficult to get an exact yardstick for the financial abilities of parents, but by using the taxable income of parents it is possible to get an impression of the relative importance of the parents' social group and their income as regards the recruitment to the various courses. This is defined in the following way: the financial circumstances of parents have independent *importance* to the type of education or training chosen by their children if there were differences in the type of education or training chosen by the children within the *same* social group, depending on the income of the parents.

In 1965 it was demonstrated that there was only little connection between the intake to upper secondary education and the taxable income of the parents within each social group (Hansen 1971). In 1968 it was found that income had little independent importance as to whether the young people left school after the 7th form, but no connection as to whether the child continued in 1st reál form or 8th form (Andersen 1972). In 1973 it was found that the income of parents also had little independent importance to the intake to upper secondary education within each social groups (cf. table 11).

By way of summary it looks as if the income of parents has a certain amount of independent importance as regards the number of years a person is under education – particularly whether the pupil is an early school-leaver. But whether the content of the course chosen is more or less abstract or theoretical is to a very wide extent dependent on other circumstances in the surroundings.

Thus we must assume that other factors in the environment are more important to the type of education or training chosen by the children. Taken as a whole these circumstances have been termed "the cultural factors", and they could for instance be the discrepancies in the style of life resulting from differences in job security, attitudes to long-term planning, consumer patterns, educational traditions, or the opinion of which educational opportunities are possible or relevant. However, this does not imply that we can conclude that financial support to students or pupils does not hold educational political effects – on the contrary. To the extent to which the cultural barrier means that some parents find it more reasonable or natural to invest in the education of their children – irrespective of income – it is reasonable to believe that if education is connected with a reasonable income, the cultural barrier will be lower. If this holds true, the educational political consequences must be that financial support is made less dependent on parental income, and instead a graduated financial support scheme should be used as an educational political tool to make more young people choose certain courses at certain levels (for instance the courses aimed at 16 to 19-year-olds), streams, or subjects.

"Cultural" Circumstances

Several surveys have demonstrated that there is a connection between social background and the intelligence and linguistic level of children and young people. Some surveys – especially foreign ones – have gone a step further and have tried to demonstrate that there are qualitative differences in mode of speech and thoughts between the different social environments (e.g. Bernstein 1971). It is obvious that this is to a high extent a product of the environment in which the young people have grown up.

At the same time the school and the various courses appreciate and reward some forms of intelligence, ways of thinking, and linguistic modes of expression to a higher extent than others, and presuppose a specific type of knowledge but teach another. Consequently it was reasonable to assume that the demonstrated differences in education between young people from different social groups, could wholly or partially be traced back to intellectual differences.

A survey from 1968 used a test which was assumed to measure verbal (linguistic) intelligence, as this was assumed to be the type of intelligence which to the widest extent was in accordance with the demands and norms of the school (Ørum 1971). It was found that there was a very clear connection between streaming after the 7th from (which at that time was determined by the school with due regard to the wishes of the parents), and the result of the intelligence test. However, the "explanation" of the cultural barrier resulting from the streaming had not been found, because at the same time it appeared that among the young people *who had done equally well at the test*, less children came into the reál department the lower the social status of their parents was. This was in particular pronounced in the case of the middle third of the children, as 74 per cent of children from social group I came in the reál department, but only 28 per cent of those from social group V (table 12).

When the attitudes of the young people were considered an additional illustration of the differences in social groups was found. The young people were asked to take a position on a number of statements as regards for instance the school and their future, and the attitudes of the young people were then analyzed as regards the time perspective, involving work, solidarity, competition, and conformity; it was assumed that the attitudes of the young people reflected the attitudes of their parents to a certain extent (Andersen 1972). Most of these social attitudes had both a connection with the social status of the parents, and with the education of the young people, so that children who had the attitudes which were often found among children from the higher social groups were more frequently admitted to the reál department, irrespective of social group. Corresponding results have been found when the attitudes of the parents were considered (Andersen 1972). This can be seen as a confirmation of the circumstance that some children are to a higher extent following the social norms of the school, and as a result of this they also fare better judged by the standards of the school.

By way of summary it can thus be said that differences in the education of the young people demonstrated between the various social groups are only to a small extent due to financial differences, and that to a higher extent they can be traced back to other circumstances – here exemplified by the results of a verbal intelligence test and some social attitudes.

However, a number of research results indicate that the school and the educational system do not simply stream young people according to the "right" type of intelligence and the "right" attitudes, etc. A Swedish survey has thus shown that the longer the young people stayed on at school, the better was their relative progress in the intelligence tests, (Husén 1969). A British survey has shown that the pupils who in primary school were placed in upper streams made more progress in the intelligence tests than those in lower streams, even though they had done equally well at the age of 8 (Douglas et al. 1964). Corresponding results have been found as regards the above-mentioned social attitudes which in 1968 were found among pupils in the 7th form. The young people were streamed in a way that to a certain extent meant a division according to their attitudes, but at the same time it was characteristic that most of the pupils changed their attitudes in the course of the following 2 years towards what was typical for the majority of the pupils in the department in which they were placed: the reál department or the 8th to 10th forms (Nørrgaard 1976).

There are thus indications that if the educational system treats pupils differently through streaming or by other means, they *will* then become more different than they were already; this may also be one of the explanation why there are apparently so few wrong placings (judged by the relatively few movings taking place) at streaming and selections.

A few research results indicate that schooling takes over some of the importance of the social background. Thus, in 1973 it was found that among the 18 to 19-year-olds with the *same* schooling there was *no* difference among the social groups as to how large a proportion was included in the residual group (i.e. those who have not received any education after having left primary and lower secondary school) (table 13). (Ørum 1974, Ørum 1975). This can be taken as an indication that the school plays an active part in the reproduction of the manpower that is necessary in a society with such a division of labour as we have.

The Sexes

Sex is an important factor in connection with education. It is found that girls generally fare better than boys in primary and lower secondary school. There are for instance twice as many boys as girls in remedial classes; those who are granted an exemption to leave school before having completed the 9th form are primarily boys, and more boys than girls leave primary and secondary school after 9th form. More girls than boys pass the reál examination, and almost equally many boys and girls pass the higher preparatory examination or the upper secondary school leaving examination. The girls' lead of the boys in general education is thus reduced as both sexes grow up, and there are indications that the shift is initiated at the age of 13 to 14. It is also at this age that the wellknown differences begin to become evident: that languages are girls' subjects, and mathematics/physics are boys' subjects (Ørum 1973).

If these courses are maintained with their present content and structure it is probable that the tendency that some boys will fare less well and that the girls are the ones who fare best will continue and be intensified. Through the last 50 years or more girls have accounted for an increasingly large proportion of school examinations. At the beginning of the 1940s they overtook boys as regards the number of middle school examinations, at the beginning of the 1950s the number of reál examinations, and at the beginning of the 1970s the number of upper secondary school leaving examinations (figure 14) (Ørum and Fridberg 1973).

On the face of it there is thus not much cause to worry about the attitudes of *the girls* (taken as a group) to schooling. In spite of this there is apparently some resources which the girls do *not* get if we look at the education they get later on, and this is perhaps connected with the circumstances that the school can act affirmatively on the *traditional* female sex role to too high an extent.

When transferring from school to job or vocational training the situation changes completely. Almost twice as many girls as boys do not begin on a course of vocational training in the first year after having left primary and lower secondary school, and even if a number of girls begin on a course in the following years – especially the courses within the educational and health sectors with a lower age limit – the difference in the number of men and women who get some type of vocational training will however remain pronounced (Ørum 1975).

As regards the courses for 16 to 19-year-olds this also means that far less girls than boys get vocational training (table 15). We do not know whether the steep rise over the last few years in the number of people passing a commercial examination has compensated somewhat for this, as no information is available concerning the extent to which these young people also get apprenticeship training after passing the commercial examination, and thus also getting vocational qualification.

As regards further education it appears that women more frequently start on short courses, those later on giving less prestige, influence, etc., and that their drop-out rate is higher.

The two most important problems are the lack of adjustment of the school in relation to a comparatively large number of boys during the first few years, and the large group of girls who do not continue their education after having left primary and lower secondary school. The explanation to this must be found among several circumstances, including that the traditional sex roles are still prevalent (and they also exist among small children), that the two sexes live under objectively different circumstances, that the young people consequently want something different, that there are different educational traditions as regards the two sexes, and the expectations from the two sexes. But at the same time it is an important factor that the labour market is so markedly divided as regards the sexes (Knudsen 1976), with the consequent sex-specific supply of labour and education. It is however to be hoped that there will be a change of the latter aspect, as the young persons do not apply for subjects in basic vocational training in such a sex-specific way as is the case with apprenticeship training (Platz, Mærkedahl, and Hansen 1975).

Geographical Factors

Geographical factors are normally divided according to 2 criteria, either according to the district involved, or how densely built over the area is (degree of urbanization).

The degree of urbanization – especially expressed as persons living in rural districts or towns – seems to increase steadily in importance. In 1975 it was thus found that among 14 to 20-year-olds in rural districts there were less in general education and less in vocational training (Hansen 1968). In 1973 it was found that the difference had been equalized. There were still slightly more early school-leavers in rural districts, and slightly more in towns than in rural districts continued in upper secondary school, but equally many came in the reál department (Ørum 1971), and equally many received vocational training. This also means that the residual group is only slightly larger in rural districts than in towns. If we consider the actual educational intake, there seems however to be some – but not many more – educational problems connected with having grown up in a rural district, and in the period 1965–1973 there has been a considerable equalization of differences.

The largest *regional* differences between the types of courses chosen by 16 to 19-year-olds are found between the Greater Copenhagen area and the other regions. The largest number of persons continuing in upper secondary school is found in the Greater Copenhagen area, and the same was the case in 1965. This area has also seen the sharpest fall in the number of people embarking on apprenticeship training (from 56 per cent in 1965 to 27 per cent in 1973), so that there are now slightly less here than in the rest of the country. The intake to upper secondary education is only *larger* than the intake to apprenticeship training in the Greater Copenhagen area (Kjerkegaard 1976). In other regions it is slightly lower.

The intake to upper secondary education is markedly low in one single area, namely North Schleswig, whereas the intake to vocational training is high. Only additional surveys may confirm whether the following preliminary conclusion holds true: in the period from 1965 to 1973 there has been a vigorous development in the sense that the expansion of upper secondary education has resulted in a *corresponding* stagnation of vocational training, so that the residual group has remained constant, and this has been almost equally large in all areas. However, the development has progressed at different speeds in the different regions, and fastest in the regions which are most developed as concerns trade and industry, (for instance the Greater Copenhagen area), and slowest in the least developed regions (for instance North Schleswig and West Jutland, South and West Zealand) (Mærkedahl 1976).

(This development is here meant as the change from agricultural production to industrial production, and from this to increased automation of the industrial production, increasing size of enterprises, increased administration, etc.)

There are indications that there is a connection between the occupational development of a region and the intake to various courses in it. A situation as the one in the Greater Copenhagen area can thus most probably be expected in the other regions if the trend in the development of trade and industry will be similar to that in the Greater Copenhagen area (e.g. as regards enterprises with a high degree of automation or experiencing a need for highly skilled labour).

Table 1. Pupils in 7th form by social status of the occupation chosen by them (percentages). Separately by social status of parents. 1968.

Status of occupation chosen	Status of parents					
	I	II	III	IV	V	All social groups
I	38	33	14	9	4	15
II	18	21	12	10	8	16
III	25	23	36	33	33	28
IV	18	21	34	46	49	33
V	1	3	4	3	6	8
TOTAL-%	100	101	100	101	100	100

Source: The survey of youths and their work and career carried out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research (not previously published).

Table 2. The 18 to 19-year-olds by the form after which they would have *liked* to have left school (percentages). Separately for the type of schooling they *actually* have. (The table does not include upper secondary pupils). 1973.

	Would not have wanted to stay on	Completed 8th form	Completed 9th form	Completed 10th form	Passed reál exam	Completed higher prep. course	Passed upper sec. school leav. exam	TOTAL %	Number of persons in random sample
7th to 8th form	59	0	8	23	6	3	1	100	304
9th form state controlled exam + 9th form tech.	69	–	0	21	5	2	3	100	550
10th form state controlled exam + 10th form adv. tech.	72	–	–	1	10	13	5	101	503
Reál exam + reál course ..	79	–	–	–	1	9	12	101	662

Source: Survey of youths and their work and career, prepared by the Danish National Institute of Social Research (not previously published).

Table 3. The young people in 7th form by percentages; by what they think that the young people described in each individual question will choose to do after having completed 7th form. 1968.

WHO WILL CHOOSE WHAT?	Will probably choose to continue in:			Not stated	TOTAL %	Total number of persons in random sample
	1st reál	8th form	Leave school			
1. Those who only want to kill the time will probably choose to continue in	11	60	28	0	99	2994
2. Those who would later on like to do something interesting will probably choose to continue in	81	13	5	0	99	2994
3. Those who decide a great deal in the class will probably choose to continue in	67	24	8	1	99	2994
4. Those who have well-to-do parents will probably choose to continue in	91	2	6	1	100	2994
5. Those who cannot stand being treated like small children will probably choose to continue in .	23	9	68	0	100	2994
6. Those who would like to have it easy without too much trouble and responsibility will probably choose to continue in	6	58	36	0	100	2994
7. Those who think farthest will probably choose to continue in .	93	4	3	0	100	2994
8. Those who later on would like to have a secure and permanent job would probably choose to continue in .	86	11	3	0	100	2994
9. Those who think that it is very important to get on will probably choose to continue in	91	4	4	0	99	2994
10. Those who are reluctant to do anything will probably choose to continue in	5	34	61	0	100	2994

WHO WILL CHOOSE WHAT?	Will probably choose to continue in:				TOTAL %	Total number of persons in random sample
	1st reál	8th form	Leave school	Not stated		
11. Those who make a lot of trouble will probably choose to continue in .	1	44	54	1	100	2994
12. The most childish will probably choose to continue in	10	44	45	1	100	2994
13. Those striving for the comfortable, well-established job will probably choose to continue in	90	8	1	1	100	2994
14. Those who would like to be slightly more than others would probably choose to continue in .	93	3	4	0	100	2994

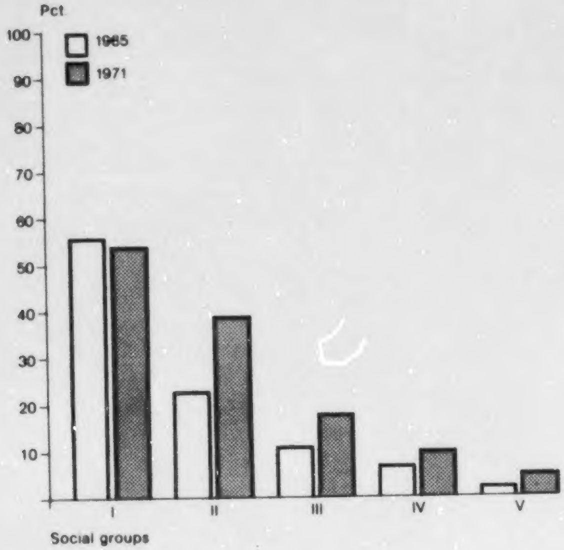
Source: Table IV. 12, Fridberg (1976).

Table 4. The 18 to 19-year-olds by percentages according to whether they would have chosen their present occupation if they were completely free to choose. Separately for occupation. 1973.

	Yes, quite definitely	Yes, perhaps	No, probably not	No, quite definitely	TOTAL %	Number of persons in random sample
Apprentices	53	27	11	9	100	1169
Upper secondary pupils	84	11	3	2	100	514
Other pupils	68	16	8	7	99	285
Unskilled	35	20	18	27	100	680
Not working from home	20	14	16	50	100	106

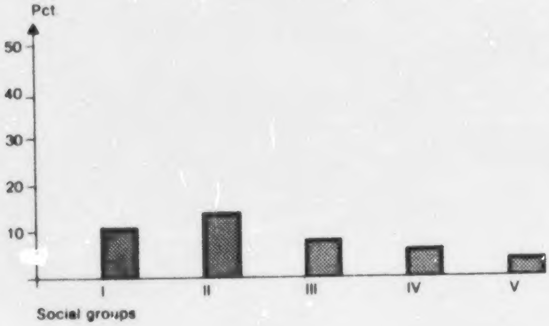
Source: The survey of youths and their work and career, prepared by the Danish National Institute of Social Research (Published in Bulletin No. 7 (by [illegible] Bente Ørum 1974).

Figure 5. The frequency of upper secondary pupils among a year group within the individual social groups.



Source: Table 3, Hansen (1973).

Figure 6. The frequency of higher preparatory course pupils among a year group within the individual social groups in 1972.



Source: Table 6, Hansen (1973).

Table 7. The 16 to 19-year-olds (by percentage) by the social status of their parents. Separately for the educational status of the young people.

	1972/73					TOTAL	Number of persons
	I	II	III	IV	V	%	in random sample
Upper secondary pupils	17	22	40	15	7	101	516
Higher prep. course pupils	8	18	42	19	14	101	1506
Basic vocation training pupils ..	5	15	35	25	21	101	2132
Apprentices	2	8	39	27	24	100	1062
Residual group	2	5	36	25	33	98	794

Source: Table 5.2.1., Platz, Mærkedahl, and Hansen (1975).

Figure 7. Upper secondary pupils, higher preparatory course pupils, basic vocational training pupils, apprentices, and the residual group by social group (percentages).

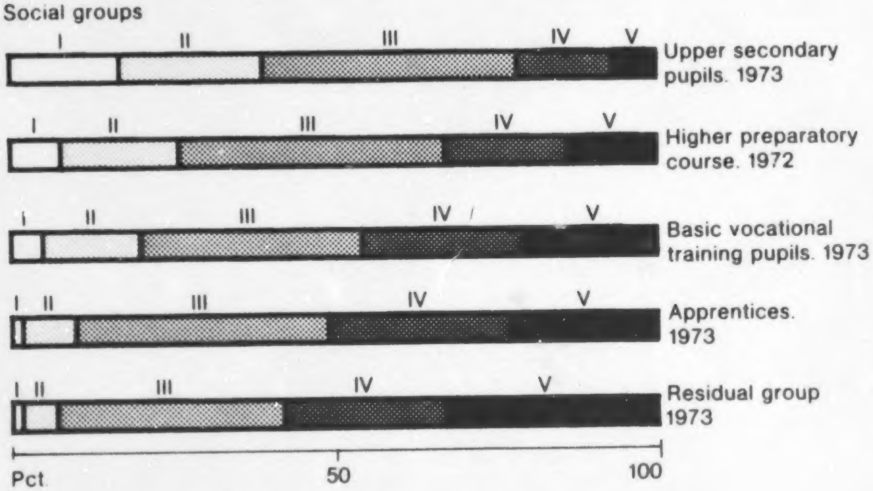


Figure 8. Percentage of children of farmers and workers at upper secondary school leaving examination. Selected years 1913 to 1966.

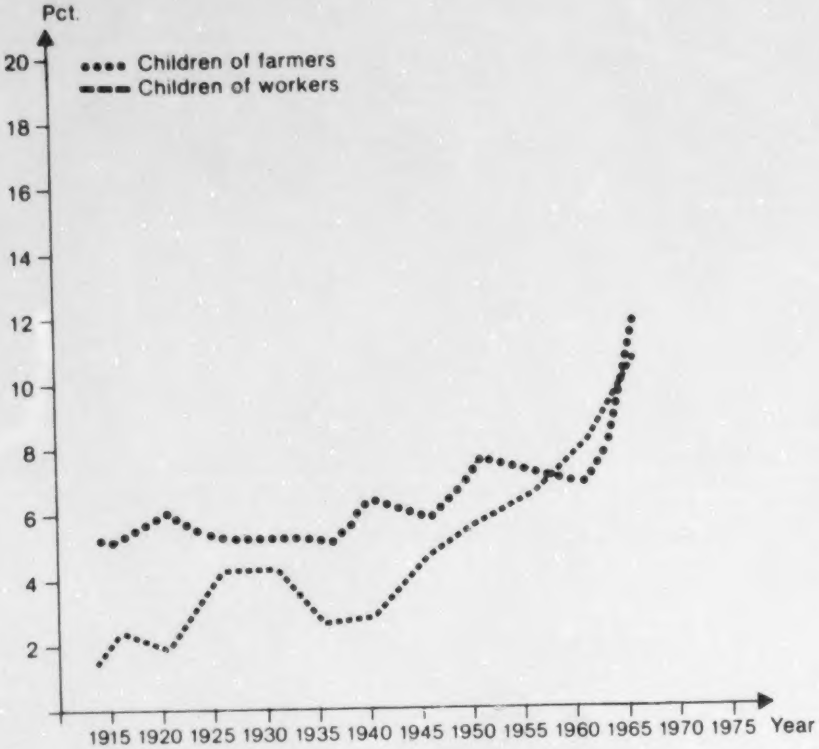
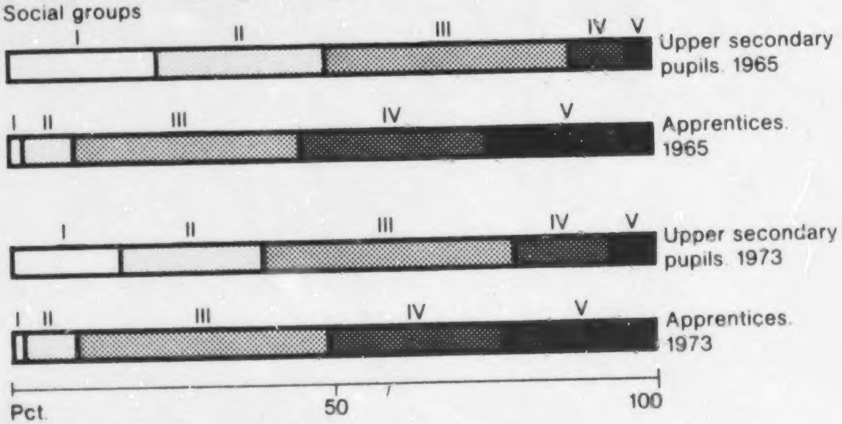
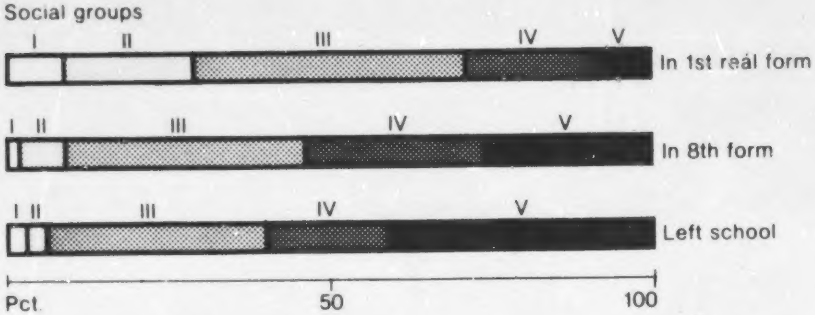


Figure 9. Upper secondary pupils and apprentices in the years 1965 and 1973 by the social status of the father (percentages).



Source: Hansen, 1968.

Figure 10. The pupils at the 8th form level in 1968 by social status of their parents (percentages). Separately for placing in school.



Source: Table VII.1., Ørum (1971).

Table 11. The frequency of upper secondary pupils in 1973 within the individual social groups. Separately for 4 supporter income groups in 1967.

Supporter income group for 7th form	*Status of parents* I	II	III	IV	V	All social groups
0–19,499	(31)	(50)	12	8	5	11
19,500–29,499	(25)	21	18	13	7	13
29,500–39,499	(56)	36	19	14	–	16
39,500 and higher	68	45	33	13	6	35
All income groups	60	41	20	12	5	19

Source: The survey of youths and their work and career, prepared by the Danish National Institute of Social Research (not previously published).

Note: The parentheses indicate that the basis for the percentage is lower than 25.

Table 12. Percentage of pupils continuing in the reál department (1). Separately for the social status of the parents and the verbal points of the young people. (1).

Verbal points at intervals	*Social group* I	II	III	IV	V
24 or less	–	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
25–34	(0)	(0)	2	5	2
35–44	(8)	(22)	17	10	9
45–54	74	61	46	36	28
55–64	96	82	68	72	59
65–74	97	95	93	93	(69)
75 or higher	–	(100)	(100)	(100)	–

¹) 7th form and "tilvalgsskole" (type of school where a number of subjects are optional) are not included.

Source: Table VII.5, Ørum (1971).

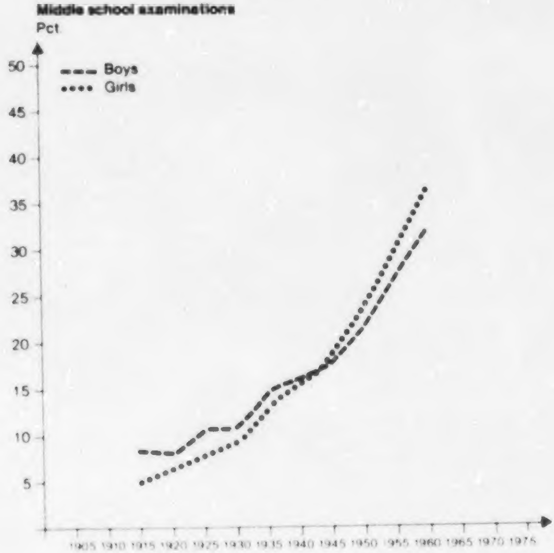
Table 13. Percentage of 18 to 19-year-olds belonging to the residual group. Separately for schooling and social status of parents. 1973.

	I	II	III	IV	V
7th to 8th forms	(50)	(57)	49	53	68
9th form state controlled	(33)	(13)	36	38	37
9th form technical + 10th form state controlled + 10th form adv. technical	(25)	23	31	32	42
Reál examination + reál course	(17)	24	27	29	26

Source: The survey of youths and their work and career prepared by the Danish National Institute of Social Research (published in Bulletin No. 7 (by sex), Bente Ørum, 1974).

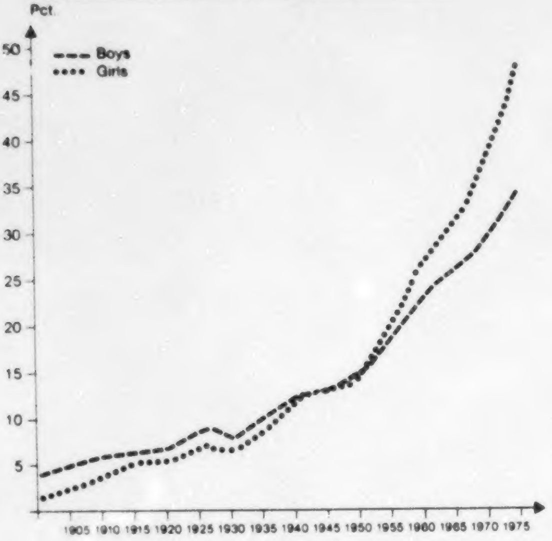
Note: The table should be read as follows: Neither horizontally nor vertically is it to give 100 per cent. The figures in the individual cells indicate the percentage belonging to the residual group *among* those who are both characterized by a given social group and a given social status. For instance, 36 per cent of those having left school after having passed 9th form state-controlled examination and who belong to social group III are included in the residual group. 64 per cent of these are thus not included in the residual group.

Figure 14. Examination frequencies for selected years from 1901–1975 (by sex).



Source: Table II.1, Fridberg 1976.

Real examinations and similar school-leaving examinations



Upper secondary school-leaving examinations

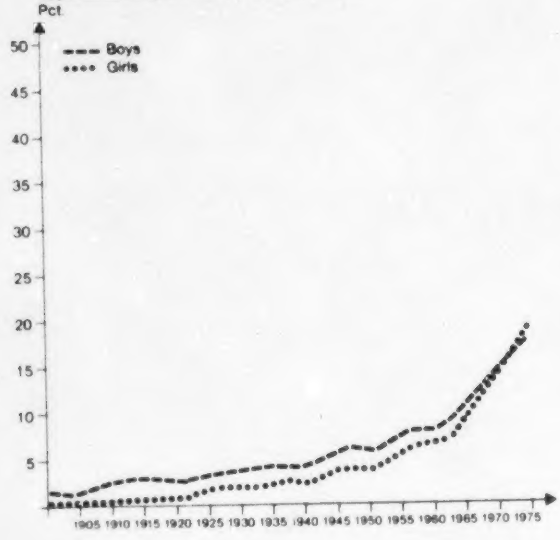


Table 15. The young people by occupation in the 8th to 12th forms. – Separately for form and sex.

Boys

Form	In 8th–10th form	In real dept.	In upper sec. school	Apprentices	Other pupils	Unskilled	Not working from home	TOTAL %	N =	Not stated
8	49	39	0	2	1	7	1	99	1525	63
9	42	40	0	7	2	9	1	101	1548	40
10	19	30	10	23	3	13	1	99	1513	75
11	[1]	[1]	21	47	9	22	1	100	1298	284
12	[1]	[1]	20	51	9	20	1	101	1377	211

Girls

Form	In 8th–10th form	In real dept.	In upper sec. school	Apprentices	Other pupils	Unskilled	Not working from home	TOTAL %	N =	Not stated
8	43	50	0	0	0	5	1	99	1511	52
9	38	51	0	1	1	8	1	100	1529	34
10	21	42	9	7	3	16	2	100	1516	48
11	[1]	[1]	19	21	15	41	4	100	1310	249
12	[1]	[1]	18	34	12	30	7	101	1390	173

[1] This group is here combined with the group "other pupils".

Source: Table 2.12. Bente Ørum, 1974.

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NOTE: All publications except those by Bernstein, Douglas, Husén, and Ørum & Fridberg are in Danish.

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Appendix 2

Participation in Post-Compulsory Education and the Problem of the Residual Group

1. The Educational Terms Used

It is only possible to illustrate participation in post-compulsory education and the counterpart: the so-called "residual group" on the basis of an explanation of the terms and methods employed.

The term "residual group" has gradually become accepted usage as an expression for those who do not at all embark on a course of post-compulsory education. It should however be noted that the residual group is not a uniform group of people without education. With reference to the list in the appendix of the courses of post-compulsory education it should be noted that many persons included in the residual group have attended folk high schools, courses for semi-skilled workers, courses preparing for an examination on individual subjects according to the Act on Courses for Adults Preparing for an Examination in Individual Subjects, teaching according to the Leisure-time Act, study circles, or other more or less extensive educational activities. The term "residual group" must therefore first and foremost be taken to be a "technical" term for want of any other accepted term. It is clear that in the actual residual group of the community understood as those with many identical handicaps of a psychological, social, and environmental nature, there are also comparatively many belonging to the residual group of education. On the other hand, according to the 1970 Census the population group without vocational training is both absolutely and relatively stronger represented among sole traders than the population groups with vocational and further education/training. This shows that there are other ways of learning than to participate in the formal courses, and it stresses the fact that the "residual group" is a term with many facets.

Common to the courses of post-compulsory education mentioned in the appendix is the fact that people can be admitted if they have primary and lower secondary school education as their only educational basis. However, in the case of some of the courses within the health and social sectors a certain minimum age is required, i.e. 18 to 20 years. The courses can furthermore be characterized as either preparing for further studies or for a vocation.

As regards some of the courses it can be discussed whether they may be considered as separate courses or as different tiers of the same course. This applies for instance to agricultural courses and naval training as a number of courses are partly giving qualification and can partly be used as a required element for participation in continued courses. In other cases where a course is considered to be an independent educational unit, it is nevertheless taken by a considerable number of pupils as an element in a more or less consciously planned individual course which also comprises other courses. This applies for instance to the 1-year commercial examination, which in many instances is used as a basis for participation in the 2-year course leading to higher commercial examination, or as the basis for embarking on other courses, for instance apprenticeship training.

Thus it must be recognized that whether a number of students are considered as successively participating in a number of *different* courses of post-compulsory education, or as participating in *a single* course consisting of several tiers is not only dependent on the educational behaviour pattern of the pupils, but also on the structure of the educational terminology – and thus also on the statistical possibilities of grouping. In the former of these possibilities we talk of *an instance of repetition*, as the students in question are considered as having embarked on a course of post-compulsory education more than once. In the latter case they will be considered as *"persons continuing"* their studies who have only been admitted to the post-compulsory aducation once.

By way of illustration follow a couple of examples of the application of the terms mentioned in this educational analysis:

Admission to a training college for nursery school teachers is considered to be admission to a course of post-compulsory education. If the pupil has not previously participated in a course of post-compulsory education it is a case of *net intake*. If the pupil has previously passed the upper secondary school leaving examination or the higher preparatory examination it is an *instance of repetition*, and the pupil is not included in the net intake but in *the gross intake* to post-compulsory education.

In this connection it should be noted that there is a tendency that upper secondary school leaving examination or higher preparatory examination displace real examination/10th form from primary and lower secondary school as actual educational background to admission to, say, training colleges for nursery school teachers. It appears from the following table and means that there is a trend towards a gradual increase of the instances of repetition in the courses of post-compulsory education. This can also be expressed in the way that participation in post-compulsory education is on the increase without a corresponding reduction of the residual group.

Table 1. Applicants and persons admitted to the training colleges for nursery school teachers and recreation centre teachers 1973 and 1977.

	Proportion with upper secondary school leaving examination or higher preparatory examination	
	1973 %	1977 %
Applicants	9	28
Persons admitted ..	18	39

Admission to a basic vocational training course is considered to be intake to a cource of post-compulsory education. When being admitted to the 2nd part of basic vocational training, the person is considered to be a *"person continuing his studies"*.

It will seen that whether admission to a part of a course is considered to be an instance of repetition or an instance of a person continuing his studies is based on an estimate. Irrespective of how this problem is solved, the following terms are fixed: *total participation* in post-compulsory education and *the net intake or "first-time instances of admission"*. Thus, *the residual group* – i.e. the group which does not at all embark on a course of post-compulsory education – is *to a certain extent* a clear term. However, it will appear from the following that a computation of the size of the residual group involves considerable problems as regards method:

2. Methods for Finding the Size of the Residual Group

In principle it is a simple matter to take a census of the *participation* in the courses of post-compulsory education. It is done by a simple counting at the educational institutions in question. *The intake* is counted in the same way, namely simply by counting those who embark on a course in the year of census, and the count is made both in gross and in net figures, as those who can be termed "instances of repetition" are registered and are included as such in the gross intake but not in the net intake.

On the other hand, considerable problems are involved as regards the principle of counting those who are included in the *residual group*. The problems are bound up with the circumstance that the intake to the courses of post-compulsory education comprises individuals in many age groups. Thus, there is not in advance any given population group from which the net intake can be deducted and the difference considered to be the residual group.

In the following are described some methods for the computation of the residual group, and some comments are given on the advantages and weaknesses attaching to each of the methods. In the case of the assessments involved it is important to remember that an interpretation of any census in figures of the participation in the courses should allow for the circumstance that the data is influenced by current as well as historical factors. The intake of slightly older students to the courses of post-compulsory education is thus influenced by the educational system and the behaviour pattern existing at the time they left school – in addition to the existing opportunities. In some cases this means that a person will embark on a course of post-compulsory education later on in life to make up for missed opportunities – or opportunities which were perhaps not available earlier. In other cases it can mean that the person in question does not have the opportunities of participating in the courses of post-compulsory education which youths of today have, if he has left primary and lower secondary school after the 7th form. Correspondingly, reforms in primary and lower secondary school and reforms within post-compulsory education are aimed at bringing about a changed pattern for the future participation in post-compulsory education.

2.1. The Method of the Pattern of Age at Admission

The first method to be mentioned is termed the cross-section method or *the method of the pattern of age at admission*. As stated there are wide age differences among those who at the same time embark on a course of post-compulsory education. Using this method the net intake is counted as a percentage of the size of each one-year age group, and the percentage figures are then added up. This will express the total current net intake to the educational field as a percentage of an average year group. By deducting the thus computed net intake percentage from 100, we get an expression of the size of the residual group, provided that the age intake pattern ascertained is unchanged over a long period of years.

This method is used in the following. The advantages are that it is possible to compute participation and the residual group on the basis of pupils statistics covering a single year; furthermore, that it can be done each year, and that a comparison of the results arrived at in the different years makes it possible to analyze trends within the courses. The weakness of the method is that it implies intake of students up to a rather high age to the courses of post-compulsory education, and that as a matter of fact it cannot be assumed that the pattern of age at admission remains unchanged through many years. In connection with the considerations on the residual group the

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method must therefore be employed judiciously (cf. a later section).

2.2. The Generation Method

The second method to be described is termed *the generation method*. It follows a certain generation of young people, for instance all those who at the same time leave primary and lower secondary school, and their behaviour as concerns participation in post-compulsory education is followed over a number of years. The advantage of this method is that it gives correct information about participation and non-participation in the courses of post-compulsory education as regards the school generation in question. The method also holds the practical advantage that it is easier than the method of the pattern of age at admission to use in combining educational analyses with other analyses concerning the pupil group observed, for instance sociological analyses and various occupational analyses. The Danish National Institute of Social Research uses the method on the basis of random samples. In the following will be given an account of some of the results in connection with a description of the connection between participation in post-compulsory education and the social patterns of the pupils and the residual group, respectively.

The weakness of the method is that it is necessary to follow a school generation over a comparatively long period of years before a comprehensive view of participation and residual group has been formed. In the meantime the behaviour pattern of the population in terms of education and the educational system will have changed in such a way that the method will have decreasing value for assessments of the current educational situation. This weakness could to some extent be offset by starting the observation of a new school generation at intervals of a few years.

2.3. The Integrated Register of Pupils and Students

In this connection it should be noted that the National Bureau of Statistics is currently preparing a socalled integrated register of pupils and students, which will gradually make it possible to follow the registered pupils and students participation in courses and education on a statistical basis. As time passes it will be possible to follow the students over an increasingly long period of years. The register can already now be used for a number of analyses based on the method of the pattern of age at intake, cf. that this method can be used on the basis of as little as the pupil statistics covering a period of one year.

It can also to a limited extent be used for analyses on the basis of the generation method. As the compilation of the register progresses it will also be possible to follow the individual "school generations" over increasingly longer periods.

3.1. Participation in Post-Compulsory Education and the Residual Group

This section begins by an account of the intake to the main educational fields of post-compulsory education. At the same time the total pupil population in the fields are stated, and the average period of participation estimated. Then follows a description of the pattern of age at intake for a number of typical courses. The following paragraphs deal with the residual group. The estimated size of it is stated for the individual year groups and the connection between residual group and previous schooling. The problem of residual groups is discussed in geographical terms and on the basis of social group. This section is rounded of with a description of rate of completion and drop-out rates in post-compulsory education, as these factors are facets of the overall problem.

3.2. Intake, Number of Pupils and Students, and Period of Participation in a Course

The below table shows the gross intake, number of pupils/students, and "average period of participation in the course", and thus it illustrates the extent to which and the duration of participation in the courses of post-compulsory education after the pupils have left primary and lower secondary school.

Table 2. Gross intake, number of pupils/students, and "average period of participation in the course" in post-compulsory education.

Course	Gross intake 1975–76 Oct. 1.74-Oct. 1.75	Number of pupils/students as at Oct. 1.75	Average period of participation = *Number of pupils/students* Gross intake
General:			
TOTAL	23,781	58,041	2.44
M	11,434	28,104	2.46
F	12,347	29,947	2.43
Trade and clerical occupation			
TOTAL	21,697	32,229	1.49
M	8,436	13,202	1.57
F	13,261	19,027	1.43
Machinery and metal-working industries			
TOTAL	8,108	28,693	3.54
M	7,741	28,046	3.62
F	367	647	1.76
Chemical industry			
TOTAL	693	1,184	1.71
M	222	358	1.61
F	471	826	1.75
Construction			
TOTAL	3,301	11,277	3.42
M	3,157	10,893	3.45
F	144	384	2.67
Graphic industries			
TOTAL	942	2,345	2.49
M	644	1,760	2.73
F	298	585	1.96
Service trade			
TOTAL	1,126	2,545	2.26
M	298	774	2.60
F	828	1,771	2.14
Food manufacturing industry			
TOTAL	3,724	4,729	1.27
M	1,153	2,779	2.41
F	2,571	1,950	0.76
Agriculture etc.			
TOTAL	2,997	908	0.30
M	2,807	805	0.29
F	190	103	0.54

Course	Gross intake 1975–76 Oct. 1.74-Oct. 1.75	Number of pupils/students as at Oct. 1.75	Average period of participation = *Number of pupils/students* / Gross intake
Transportation etc.			
TOTAL	1,827	1,100	0.60
M	1,798	1,085	0.60
F	29	15	0.60
Health			
TOTAL	1,635	1,725	1.06
M	214	208	0.97
F	1,421	1,517	1.07
Short courses of further education			
TOTAL	6,550	17,028	2.60
M	1,157	2,818	2.43
F	5,393	14,210	2.63
Courses of continued schooling1)			
TOTAL	76,381	161,814	2.12
M	39,061	90,832	2.33
F	37,320	70,982	1.90

1) The courses of post-compulsory education comprise the courses mentioned in Appendix 1.

It appears from table 2 that the *gross intake* to the courses of post-compulsory education amounts to 76,000 pupils and is comparatively equally distributed on men and women. *The total number of pupils/students* is 160,000, of which 90,000 are men and 70,000 women. This difference between the participation of men and women in post-compulsory education is due to the fact that men choose the comparatively long courses of post-compulsory education, as for instance machinery and metal-working industries and construction, while women choose the comparatively short courses, such as trade and clerical occupation, food manufacturing industries, and health. Some of the short courses – which for instance comprise nursery school teacher training and recreation centre teacher training and the training of nurses, are of a longer duration than the other traditional courses for women. It is finally seen that men and women are almost equally strongly represented in the largest fields of individual courses, namely general upper secondary courses. There are pronounced differences between the representation of the two sexes in all other areas.

The circumstances described are illustrated by the figures in the table indicating *"average period of participation in a course"*.

The average period of participation is computed as the proportion between number of pupils/students and gross intake. The number of pupils/students is dependent on the predesizred period of study, furthermore of intake in the current and previous periods, and of the drop-out rate, etc.

The estimated average period of participation in a course will thus be dependent on variations in the intake of pupils, and it will therefore only give a completely correct picture if the intake over a number of years has been constant. In case of increasing intake, as is the case with general upper secondary courses, the estimated period of participation in a course will be "too short", and in case of decreasing intake it will be "too long". With this reservation it can be stated (cf. the table) that the "average period of participation in a course" is 2.12 years for the courses of post-compulsory education, (2.33 years for boys and 1.90 years for girls). The period of participation varies a great deal in the various educational fields and is longest for machinery and metal-working industries and construction – approx. 3.5 years, and shortest for food-manufacturing industries and agriculture – from 0.3 year and upwards. It should be noted that a number of courses in each of the two latter areas in the statistical material used for this account are included as separate courses. If we instead considered these courses as successive educational tiers, the average period of participation within each of the two areas would be extended by approx. 0.3 year.

The average periods of participation stated in table 2 are – as has been mentioned – computed on the basis of *the gross intake. The net intake* can only be used as a factor of computation in the case of post-compulsory education taken as a whole, as the order in which persons termed as "instances of repetition" participate in the various courses will thus be of no importance to the computed result.

Table 3. Average period of participation. Gross and net as well as frequency of "instance of repetition".

	Average period of participation[1]) Gross basis No. of years	Average period of participation[1]) Net basis No. of years	Frequency of "instance of repetition"
Men	2.33	2.93	1.24
Women ..	1.90	2.34	1.26
TOTAL ..	2.12	2.64	1.23

[1]) The table illustrates only the period of participation in post-compulsory education. If the period of participation in tertiary education was included, the difference between male and female students would be more salient.

The below table gives the average periods of participation computed on net as well as gross bases.

The average period of participation on a net basis illustrates how long the persons who at all embark on a course of post-compulsory education on an average stay in the educational system at the 10 to 12th educational level in one or more courses.

It appears that on an average male pupils/students participate for a period of almost 3 years in post-compulsory education, while female pupils/students on an average participate for a period of $2^1/_3$ years.

3.3. The Pattern of Intake to Individual Courses

Table 4 illustrates the pattern of age for gross intake and first-time intake (net intake) to a number of selected courses of post-compulsory education.

A comparison between gross intake and net intake in the last column but one will give the following result: For the 1st form of upper secondary school gross and net intakes are almost equally large; thus upper secondary school is a typical first-time course for the 10th to 12th school years. The gross and net intake figures for higher preparatory courses show that 1,075 pupils out of 6,979 – or 15 per cent – have previously started on some other course at the 10th to 12th educational level.

Apprenticeship training within iron and metal-working industries, basic vocational training, and the 1-year commercial examination course are also mainly first-time courses. On the other hand, more than half of the pupils attending courses leading to qualification as a nurse, and more than a fourth of students studying at training colleges for nursery school teachers and recreation centre teachers have previously pursued other courses of post-compulsory education.

If furthermore appears that almost 2,500 apprentices in trade clerical occupations have previously pursued other courses of post-compulsory education; the pupils in question have passed the 1-year commercial examination and then entered into an apprenticeship.

A comparison between the age distributions will show that the majority of pupils intending to take the commercial examination are between 16½ and 18, while the highest figure for intake to trade and clerical occupations cover persons of between 17½ and 19½ – i.e. a year older.

It should be mentioned that the age at admission to upper secondary school is 16½ on an average, to apprenticeship training in iron and metal-working industries, basic vocational training, and 1-year course leading to commercial examination 17½ to 18 on an average, to

Table 4. The pattern of age for gross and net intakes to selected courses of post-compulsory education in the period Oct. 1, 1974 to Oct. 1, 1975.

	Age as at July 1, 1975												
Course	Under 15½	15½–16½	16½–17½	17½–18½	18½–19½	19½–20½	20½–21½	21½–22½	22½–23½	23½–24½	Over 24½	Pupils/ Students	Average Age
	Number of pupils												
1 G:													
Gross intake	892	6,410	6,255	871	59	12	7	2	1	2	4	14,515	16.5
Net intake	892	6,395	6,114	766	47	8	3	–	–	1	4	14,230	16.5
1st form higher prep. course:													
Gross intake	–	71	1,759	2,058	1,000	518	332	253	197	160	631	6,979	19.3
Net intake	-	71	1,711	1,662	762	398	242	183	153	140	582	5,904	19.3
Apprentices:													
Iron & metal-working ind.:													
Gross intake	37	594	2,070	1,901	507	145	64	52	29	20	126	5,545	17.8
Net intake	37	588	2,040	1,802	429	97	42	43	17	17	112	5,224	17.7
Trade and clerical occ.:													
Gross intake	17	224	1,109	2,102	1,169	479	210	79	43	21	67	5,520	18.4
Net intake	17	223	1,005	700	656	247	100	39	17	7	37	3,048	18.2
Basic vocational training:													
Gross intake	19	801	3,152	1,524	519	147	54	18	23	21	16	6,294	17.5
Net intake	19	801	3,106	1,404	438	112	36	17	18	10	14	5,975	17.4
Comm.exam.:													
Gross intake	6	520	7,035	2,351	747	362	224	166	96	71	436	12,012	17.9
Net intake	6	520	6,957	2,053	522	254	161	121	78	52	404	11,092	17.8
Training of nurses:													
Gross intake	–	–	–	97	493	470	395	206	118	72	166	2,017	20.9
Net intake	–	–	–	86	398	220	78	44	25	29	94	974	20.4
Training of recreation centre teachers and nursery school teachers:													
Gross intake	–	–	–	89	428	549	350	208	151	89	338	2,222	21.2
Net intake	–	–	–	76	338	370	218	128	107	359		1,596	21.3

higher preparatory courses upwards of 19, and for nurse training and nursery school teacher training approx. 21.

Finally it should be added that surveys show that the age at admission to courses of post-compulsory education is slowly rising in the 1970s.

3.4. The Pattern of Age for Total Intake to Post-Compulsory Education and Residual Group

In the following tables gross intake, net intake, and instances of repetition at courses of post-compulsory education – and the residual group corresponding to the net intake – have been computed on the basis of the method of the pattern of age at admission (as described in section 2.1).

It appears from table 5 that the difference between gross and net intake is small up to the age of 17.5. At the same time the intake is increasing up to this age. This means that a considerable proportion of the total number of first-time admissions takes place before the pupils are 17.5 years old. Then the intake to the courses of post-compulsory education decreases more steeply in the case of boys, and at a somewhat slower rate in the case of girls. The girls will thus have a deficit as regards the rate of intake to the courses of post-compulsory education as concerns the younger pupils, and this deficit will gradually be equalized. This is due to the fact that many girls do not embark on a course of post-compulsory education until at the age of 18 to 21 years within social and health courses, where there are often lower age limits (18 to 21 years) as entry requirements.

Table 6 shows the residual group for each age group up to 24.5 years. As re-

Table 5. Post-compulsory Education. Gross intake, net intake, and instances of repetition in the period Oct. 1, 1974–Oct. 1, 1975 schooling as a percentage of the size of the age groups. As at July 1, 1975.

Age group	Under 15½	15½–16½	16½–17½	17½–18½	18½–19½	19½–20½	20½–21½	21½–22½	22½–23½	23½–24½	Over 24½	TOTAL
	per cent											
Gross intake												
TOTAL	1.4	13.1	33.1	20.0	9.6	6.5	5.1	3.7	2.6	1.7	6.7	103.5
Boys	1.4	13.6	33.8	21.9	8.7	4.6	3.8	3.6	2.9	2.0	6.8	103.1
Girls	1.5	12.6	32.4	18.0	10.5	8.6	6.4	3.8	2.2	1.3	6.7	104.0
Net intake												
TOTAL	1.4	13.0	32.4	15.3	6.5	3.7	2.4	1.7	1.1	0.9	4.8	83.2
Boys	1.4	13.5	33.1	17.5	5.8	2.3	1.4	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.6	81.6
Girls	1.5	12.5	31.7	13.0	7.3	5.2	3.4	2.1	1.3	0.9	5.6	84.5
Instances of repetition												
TOTAL	0.0	0.1	0.7	4.7	3.1	2.8	2.7	2.0	1.5	0.8	1.9	20.3
Boys	0.0	0.1	0.7	4.4	2.9	2.3	2.4	2.6	1.9	1.0	3.2	21.5
Girls	0.0	0.1	0.7	5.0	3.2	3.4	3.0	1.7	0.9	0.4	1.1	19.5
Size of year group												
TOTAL	74700	72700	73404	73727	74575	74539	73810	75708	74773	73872	...	.
Boys	38112	37183	37726	37991	38373	38420	37686	38832	38188	38064	...	.
Girls	36657	35517	36678	35736	36202	36119	36124	36876	36585	35808	...	.

gards the age groups 24.4 and 35.49 a summary figure is stated for first-time participation in relation to the size of an average year group. This is partly due to the previously stated hesitations in using the computation method in the case of the oldest students, and partly that there may be some uncertainty in the case of older students as to whether they are first-time students.

Table 6. Net intake Oct. 1. 74–Oct. 1.75 to the courses of post-compulsory education as a percentage of the year group, computed on the basis of the method of the pattern of age at admission. Cumulated net intake and the residual group.

Age interval	Average age as at July 1, 1975	Net intake as a percentage of a year group			Cumulated net intake			Residual group at the stated ages		
		M	F	TOTAL	M	F	TOTAL	M	F	TOTAL
–15.49	.	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.4	98.6	98.5	98.6
15.5–16.49	16.0	13.5	12.5	13.0	14.9	14.0	14.5	85.1	86.0	85.5
16.5–17.49	17.0	33.1	31.7	32.4	48.0	45.7	46.8	52.0	54.3	53.2
17.5–18.49	18.0	17.5	13.0	15.3	65.5	58.7	62.2	34.5	41.3	37.8
18.5–19.49	19.0	5.8	7.8	6.5	71.3	66.0	68.7	28.7	34.0	31.3
19.5–20.49	20.0	2.3	5.1	3.7	73.6	71.1	72.4	26.4	28.9	27.6
20.5–22.49	22.0	1.0	2.1	1.6	76.1	76.6	76.4	23.9	23.4	23.6
22.5–23.49	23.0	1.0	1.3	1.1	77.1	77.9	77.5	22.9	22.1	22.5
23.5–24.49	24.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	78.0	78.8	78.4	22.0	21.2	21.6
24.5–35.49	3.2	4.4	3.8							

It appears from table 6 that the residual group at the age of 24.5 years has been reduced to about 22 per cent. It should be noted that the residual group of girls is as large as that of boys. The residual group decreases quickly for the young age groups up to the age of 18.5 years, and furthermore it can be seen that the residual group at the age of 18.5 years is somewhat larger in the case of girls than in the case of boys. In the following age groups the residual group decreases however more steeply in the case of girls than in the case of boys. The difference here between girls and boys has a clear connection with the requirements as to age in the social and health courses, and thus also their importance to the girls' pattern of age at admission to post-compulsory schooling.

3.5. Previous Schooling and Residual Groups

The net intake and thus also the residual group can be described in relation to previous schooling. With a view to this the generation method described in section 2.2 has been employed; it should however be noted that at the present stage it has only been possible to follow a school generation – i.e. a group of pupils who at the same time have left primary and lower secondary school, albeit from different graduating class levels – through a very short span of time. Thus, those who have left primary and lower secondary school in the period from the summer of 1974 to October 1975 (i.e. a period of approx. 15 months) have been followed. Those who have left primary and lower secondary school in the summer of 1975 have also ben followed up to October 1975, i.e. for a period of 3 months. Nevertheless, certain connections between previous schooling and participation later on in courses of post-compulsory schooling can give a preliminary illustration on this basis.

Table 7. The relative size of the residual group 3 months and 15 months after the pupils have left primary and lower secondary school, by graduating classes in primary and lower secondary school, etc.

Class of graduation from primary school	Number of pupils leaving school		*Post-Compulsory education not initiated*		
			After 3 months		After 15 months
	1974	1975	1974 year group pct.	1975 year group pct.	1974 year group pct.
8th form/1st reál	2,436	1,948	85.8	89.6	76.5
9th form/2nd reál	20,439	17,202	49.7	46.3	40.4
10th form/11th form/3rd reál.	43,536	45,812	50.2	45.6	33.6
8th to 10th form, TOTAL ...	66,411	64,962	51.3	47.1	37.2
Remedial classes	–	1,632	–	–	78.0
Reál course	2,738	2,608	60.4	59.0	49.5
Continuation schools	–	4,553	–	79.6	–

A comparison of forms 8 to 10 shows that the higher the level of graduating form in primary and lower secondary school, the more inclined are the pupils to start on a course of post-compulsory education. School-leavers at the end of the 2nd and 3rd reál forms are considerably more inclined to start on a course of post-compulsory education than are school-leavers from corresponding levels from the part of primary and lower secondary school not concluded with an examination, i.e. forms 9 and 10. Of course this is due to the fact that many pupils from the reál department will go on to upper secondary school. However, this is not the only explanation. A comparison between the groups of pupils who in 1974 left 10th form or 3rd reál form without continuing in upper secondary school will show that 37 per cent of 10th form pupils against 40 per cent from 3rd reál form continued in a course preparing for a vocation; this occured within 15 months. There is reason to expect that school-leavers from the reál department account for the major part of the intake to post-compulsory education at a later time than 15 months after having completed primary and lower secondary education.

Furthermore it appears from table 7 that pupils from remedial classes and from continuation schools are as poorly represented in post-compulsory education as are pupils leaving school at the end of 8th form. However, it is too early to make a final assessment of the situation as regards these pupils. Their pattern of schooling is as a matter of fact peculiar, and it is therefore necessary to follow the group of pupils over a number of years before it is possible to form any conclusions.

As concerns pupils attending reál courses, other sources show that the drop-out rate is relatively large. Maybe this accounts for the poor placing of pupils who have attended reál courses in post-compulsory education in the first few years after their having left the reál course.

Table 7 furthermore shows that the participation in post-compulsory education 3 months after the pupils have left the ordinary classes of primary and lower secondary school is on the increase. 51.3 per cent of the 1974 year group had not been admitted to a course of post-compulsory education after a period of 3 months against only 47.1 per cent of the 1975 year group. This is thus an "improvement" of approx. 4 percentage points, and this must be considered to be a very vigorous development over such a short period of time. "The improvement" applies to pupils from all of the graduating classes in primary and lower secondary school, with the exception of the 8th form, from which the number of leaving examinations is incidentally steeply decreasing.

The relatively increased intake to post-compulsory education of the 1975 year group is evident in all fields, both in upper secondary fields, commercial education, and additional courses. Thus, the trend seems to be general. It is however not advisable to draw too "square" conclusions before the development has been followed over a few more years. It is for instance not possible at present to assess the extent to which there is an *increasing* intake to post-compulsory education, and the extent to which it is only a case of a *more rapid* intake.

3.6. The Geographical Pattern of Participation and of the Residual Group

Table 8 shows the educational status for all counties in October 1975 as regards the year group which left primary and lower secondary school in 1974, i.e. 15 months earlier. Thus the returns are prepared on the basis of the generation method.

It appears from column 3 of the table that the proportion of the year group who have either not started on a course or who have discontinued it, was 40 per cent for the country taken as a whole. Copenhagen and Frederiksberg have particularly poor placings, with percentages as high as 49.7 and 47.6, respectively. The islands are close to the average, with the County of Copenhagen particularly well placed – only 37.6 per cent have not embarked on a course of study.

A number of counties in Jutland are strikingly well placed, with North Schleswig taking the lead. In that district only 33 per cent of the year group of 1974 have not embarked on a course or have discontinued their studies. The counties of Ribe, Ringkøbing, and North Jutland also stand out. As regards these counties in Jutland (with the exception of North Jutland) the frequency of intake to upper secondary education is even somewhat below the national average. On the other hand, these counties have recorded very high percentages as concerns courses already concluded. These courses must in the nature of the case be 1-year courses.

The clearest general geographical variance in the educational situation does thus not so much apply to *the intake* to post-compulsory education as to the duration of the courses chosen or which the pupils have to take. In this connection it should be mentioned that of 5,973 instances of completed courses, 3,702 were accounted for by girls, and 2,072 by boys. The 1-year commercial examination accounted for upwards of 4,000 instances of completed courses. Courses of domestic science, and courses within farming and shipping accounted for the majority of the remaining instances of completed courses.

In October 1975 25 per cent of year group 1974 had chosen a course of upper secondary education. The geographical variance it not pronounced. However, the counties of Copenhagen and Frederiksborg are placed particularly high, and the county of Bornholm, the county of Storstrøm, and a couple of the abovementioned counties in Jutland are placed relatively low.

The other courses shown in column 8 of the table, primarily technical ones, show great uniformity in the various counties as concerns the participation.

At the local level the educational differences are even more pronounced between the counties. Non-participation in education fluctuated between 26 and 50 per cent in the county of Frederiksborg, and in the county of Århus between 29 and 53 per cent.

Table 8. Educational status, October 1975 for pupils who have taken a leaving examination from school 1974. By counties.

	Total number of pupils having completed prm. and lower sec. educ. etc.	In the proces of education							
		1 Not initiated education	2 Education discont'd	3 1 + 2 Not init. educ. + educ. discontinued	4 Educ. completed	5 TOTAL	6 Of which upper sec. education	7 Trade + clerical occupation	8 Other courses
All of the country	69,169	37.7	2.3	40.0	8.4	51.6	25.1	10.4	16.1
1. Copenhagen	5,889	45.6	4.1	49.7	2.6	47.8	23.4	10.4	14.0
2. Frederiksberg	1,053	43.7	3.9	47.6	2.9	49.5	28.3	8.2	13.0
3. County of Copenhagen	9,049	34.8	2.8	37.6	3.3	59.1	33.2	10.9	15.0
4. County of Frederiksborg	3,612	37.4	2.7	40.1	5.2	54.7	30.5	8.4	15.8
5. County of Roskilde	2,210	38.0	2.4	40.4	8.1	51.6	26.0	10.0	15.6
6. County of West Zealand	3,923	40.6	2.2	42.8	8.9	48.3	21.3	10.1	16.9
7. County of Storstrøm	3,694	40.3	1.5	41.8	9.9	48.3	20.9	10.8	16.6
8. County of Bornholm	658	41.6	1.1	42.7	11.2	46.0	21.9	6.4	17.7
9. County of Funen	6,199	37.6	2.0	39.6	10.4	49.9	23.0	9.8	17.1
10. County of N. Schleswig	3,668	31.4	1.6	33.0	16.6	50.5	21.5	11.5	17.5
11. County of Ribe	3,245	34.6	2.8	37.4	12.7	49.9	22.2	8.7	19.0
12. County of Vejle	4,487	39.4	1.1	40.5	10.3	49.3	21.9	12.4	15.0
13. County of Ringkøbing	3,759	36.8	2.1	38.9	11.2	49.9	22.9	11.5	15.5
14. County of Århus	7,366	37.2	2.0	39.2	8.5	52.3	25.8	10.3	16.2
15. County of Viborg	3,464	37.7	1.6	39.3	10.2	50.5	24.5	10.7	15.3
16. County of N. Jutland	6,993	35.6	2.1	37.7	9.0	53.0	25.0	10.6	17.7

3.7. Residual Group and Social Groups

To illustrate the residual group of boys and girls, respectively, by social status of their parents we have included the surveys made by the Danish National Institute of Social Research.

Table 9. The proportion[1]) of young people in 1965 and in 1973 who are not in the process of education, by social status of their parents.

	Social status of parents according to social group			All social groups, taken as a whole		
	I	II	III	IV	V	I–V
Residual group:			pct.			
Boys:						
16–19-year-olds (1965)	5	12	25	17	35	24
18–19-year-olds (1973)	10	10	18	19	31	21
Girls:						
16–19-year-olds (1965)	13	24	31	40	55	38
18–19-year-olds (1973)	6	18	31	41	50	37
The entire population by social groups in 1970						
Men	21	19	10	21	29	100
Women	15	15	35	2	33	100

Source: Bulletin No. 7, the Danish National Institute of Social Research, "From School to Job", by Bente Ørum.

It appears from the table that the chance of ending up in the residual group is several times as great for children from the lowest social groups – groups IV and V – as for children from the higher social groups – groups I and II.

3.8. Completion and Drop-out Rates

Table 10 shows the rates of completion and drop-out rates for a number of selected courses of post-compulsory education. The table shows the predesigned period of study for the individual courses; furthermore the percentages for courses initiated which are completed within the predesigned period of study or with some delay, and finally the percentages of drop-outs.

It appears from table 10 that approx. 85 per cent of the pupils who start on a course also complete their studies. The percentage of completion fluctuates between approx. 75 and 95, and it can be seen that approx. 2/3 of the pupils who discontinue their education will do so in the first year of study.

The table is included in order to give a survey of the course of the studies as well as to throw additional light on the previously described problems in connection with the residual group.

4. Summary and Conclusions

4.1. The so-called residual group consists of persons who to a comparatively wide extent receive education after having left primary and lower secondary school of such different kinds as single subject

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[1]) The residual group is here defined as the proportion of young people in 1965 and 1973, respectively, who are not in the process of education before having completed their 18th or 19th birthday. The educational delimitation in relation to the concept of the residual group deviates from the one which is otherwise used in the present account.

Table 10. The rates of completion and drop-out rates within selected courses of post-compulsory education, computed on the basis of the course of the studies (on a time basis) in the period from October 1, 1975 to October 1, 1976.

Course	Duration of course (predesigned period of study)	Completion as a percentage of pupils starting: Of which at predesigned time	Compl. TOTAL	Drop-out rate as a percentage of pupils starting: Of which 1st year	Drop-out rate. TOTAL
	Year	pct.			
Higher prep. course	2	76.7	83.1	9.2	16.9
Trade & clerical occup.:					
Groceries	2–3	84.7	88.7	7.3	11.3
Commerce	2–3	92.6	94.5	3.7	5.5
Upper sec.ed:	3	84.9	86.8	7.0	13.2
Iron and metal-working industries:					
Engine fitter	3–4	87.4	87.9	7.4	12.1
Automobile mechanic	3–4	83.6	90.6	5.3	9.4
Construction:					
Bricklayer	3–4	82.8	84.7	9.9	15.3
Building carpenter	3–4	90.5	91.7	4.3	8.3
Food manufacturing industries:					
Baker	3–4	75.0	75.1	15.1	24.9
Butcher	3–4	82.9	82.9	15.5	17.1
Graphic industries:					
Printing worker	3–4	83.0	90.1	7.5	9.9
Setter	3–4	79.6	86.1	8.5	13.9
Service trades:					
Hairdresser	3–4	73.5	74.4	17.4	25.6

courses according to the Act on Courses for Adults Preparing for an Examination in Individual Subjects, 1977, courses for semi-skilled workers, stays at folk high schools, etc. They have however not started on a formal course preparing for a vocation or for further studies within any of the educational fields mentioned in this Appendix.

The courses of post-compulsory education are widely different and are of different lengths, from 6 months to approx. 4 years. Some courses consist exclusively of teaching as at a school, and others have extensive trainee service periods.

Thus, there is a very wide spectrum of educational offers after primary and lower secondary school, ranging from the very short to the very extensive. It is to a wide extent a matter of opinion where the dividing line is between the residual group and the non-residual group.

4.2. The pupils are not always starting on the courses of post-compulsory education right after having left primary and lower secondary school, but instead spread over some years. The residual group is therefore large for the youngest age groups, and it will gradually decrease in size as the year group grows older. According to the pattern of age at admission ascertained in 1974–75, the residual group will gradually decrease to some twenty per cent.

4.3. The residual groups of boys and girls are almost of the same relative size, i.e. some twenty per cent. The fall in the size of the residual group of girls takes place at a somewhat slower pace than in the case of the boys. This has to do with the age requirements at admission in a number of typical girls' courses in the health and social sector.

The endeavours to reduce the size of the residual group could thus also comprise deliberations on reducing the age requirements in these courses.

4.4. As a whole girls attend courses of a somewhat shorter duration than boys. On an average girls attend a course of post-compulsory for a period of $2^{1}/_{3}$ years against 3 years for boys. It is probable – but is has not been demonstrated in this account – that there is greater uniformity with regard to the duration of the education for girls than for boys. There are in fact several girls who first complete an upper secondary course and then a 3-year course in the social and health sector, i.e. a total of 5 to 6 years. Conversely, there are particularly many girls who only take the 1-year commercial examination, or a 1-year social or health course.

In connection with this it should be mentioned that an increasing number of applicants tend to qualify by taking the upper secondary school leaving examination or the higher preparatory examination before starting on certain courses of post-compulsory education which are subject to numerous clausus, including the training of nursery school teachers and recreation centre teachers, and the training of nurses, and that the institutions increasingly tend to choose pupils who have passed the upper secondary school leaving examination or the higher preparatory examination.

The endeavours to reduce the size of the residual group could comprise an investigation of the size of the group of applicants to the described courses who have been turned away and who end up in the residual group, and whether the described circumstance should give occasion to reassessing the administration of admission.

4.5. There is a clear connection between schooling at the primary and lower secondary level and later participation in post-compulsory education. Pupils receiving remedial teaching and pupils at continuation schools seem particularly prone to end up in the residual group. Reaching-out efforts aimed at reducing the size of the residual group can therefore with advantage be used to help pupils who have received remedial teaching and pupils who have attend continuation schools.

4.6. There are geographical differences with regard to participation in post-compulsory education. The differences can be considerable from one municipality to another, at least in the first few years after the pupils have completed primary and lower secondary education. However, a comparison between counties shows only limited differences with regard to the size of the residual group in the case of the youngest age groups. There are however rather large differences as to what courses of post-compulsory the pupils attend. The relatively short courses are comparatively more frequent in South, West, and North Jutland than in the rest of the country.

In connection with endeavours to reduce the size of the residual group it will be natural to implement a close examination of the factors at the local level which influence the rate of participation in post-compulsory education.

4.7. The survey prepared by the Danish National Institute of Social Research shows a clear connection between the size of the residual group and the social group to which the parents of the pupils belong. Efforts to reduce the size of the residual group must therefore be concentrated on ways of compensating for handicaps which are influenced by social and sociological factors. In this connection we would like to stress that there must be assumed to be a complex connection between a number of the circumstances mentioned in the above section, in particular social group, geographical factors, and previous schooling; to this can be added the trend to completing or discontinuing a course. An assessment of the interaction between these factors must be included in the efforts aiming at reducing the size of the residual group.

Sub-appendix 1

Post-compusory education comprise the following courses in this account:

General education:	Upper secondary school Higher Preparatory courses Courses leading to the upper secondary school leaving examination
Trade and clerical occupation:	Basic vocational training Apprentices Commercial examination Higher commercial examination Computer assistant
Iron and metal-working industries:	Basic vocational training Apprentices Technical assistent Workshop schools
Technicians in the chemical industry:	Laboratory technologists in biology, chemistry, and combined lines
Construction:	Basic vocational training Apprentices Technical assistant
Graphic industries:	Basic vocational training Draughtsman
Service trades:	Basic vocational training Apprentices Draper's assistant
Food manufacturing industries:	Basic vocational training Apprentices Dairyman General courses of domestic science Domestic science, general, needlework, etc. course Kitchen supervisor, middle-ranking cook

Agriculture and fisheries:	Basic vocational training Apprentices Agricultural and horticultural schools Forestry courses Fishery courses
Transport and communication:	Nautical schools and schools for engineers Schools for marine engineers Communication-technical courses
Health sector:	Nursing auxiliaries Nursing assistants Occupational therapists Dental treatment
Short courses of further training:	Nursery school teacher and recreation centre teachers Nursing home assistant Care of handicapped persons Courses qualifying to give special education aimed at handicapped persons, excl. courses of further training within this field Preparatory courses – music courses Craftsmen-designers Nurses Deacons Midwives Ward nurses Head health visitors Head home nurses

Inge Mærkedahl: **Appendix 3**

The Development in the Intake to the Most Important Courses of Youth Education through the last 30 Years

This paper constitutes part of the empirical material forming the basis of analyses which I am preparing in connection with a thesis at the University of Copenhagen and a bulletin from the Danish National Institute of Social Research. In these analyses the development in qualifications in post-war Denmark is related to the development in the economic structure as well as the educational policy pursued. This paper deals solely with the development in qualifications. The figures stated indicate important features of the development in qualifications in Denmark over the past 30 years.

Table 1 indicates for each of the years 1945 to 1976 the proportion of a year group of young people embarking on basic vocational training or apprenticeship training (vocational frequency), the proportion initiating an upper secondary education (upper secondary frequency), and the proportion not initiating any of these types of education. In the following I intend to call the latter proportion the residual and make an assessment of the extent to which this residual reasonably expresses the size of the residual group reckoned up at the age of 19 up through the post-war period.

A more detailed account of the computation of the vocational frequency may be found in the comments and notes on sub-appendix table 1 indicating the separate frequency for ordinary apprentices (the so-called Section 1 apprentices), apprentices of more than 18 years (the so-called Section 30 apprentices), and basic vocational training pupils. Analogous with this the explanation of the computation of the upper secondary frequency may be found in the comments and notes on sub-appendix 2 giving separate frequencies for pupils attending higher preparatory courses, upper secondary courses, and pupils attending a course leading to the upper secondary school leaving examination.

This account is thus to be based on frequencies of intake. Figures showing frequency of completion would however be a more relevant expression for the distribution of a generation of young people on the types of education mentioned. Unfortunately the data available does not permit – if it is to be comparable over such a long period as the one being analyzed here – the computation of anything but frequencies of intake. If the drop-out rate from upper secondary education and vocational training has been comparatively constant in the period under review, it should nevertheless be possible – by using the frequencies of intake as the basis – to say something about the development trends as to the types of education a year group of young people get. The drop-out rate for apprentices in the first part of the post-war period is not known. Not until after 1958 is statistical material available about apprenticeships that have been discontinued. It shows that since the end of the 1950s there has been a comparatively constant proportion – namely about 20 per cent of all first-time apprentices – who have discontinued their training before the termination of the apprenticeship.[1]) Also, as regards upper secondary education it has only been possible to ascertain the drop-out rate from somewhere at the end of the 1950s. At that time approx. 10

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Table 1. Frequencies of intake for apprenticeship training, basic vocational training, and upper secondary education in each of the years 1945–1975

Educational frequency	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
The proportion of a year group of young people starting on a course of *basic vocational training or apprenticeship training*1)	21	33	31	32	30	32	31	31	33	35	33	31	34	35	41	43
The proportion of a year group of young people starting on a *course of upper secondary education*2)	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	9	10	10
The proportion of a year group of young people who *neither* start on a course of *basic vocational training apprenticeship training nor upper secondary education* .	74	62	64	62	64	62	63	63	61	58	60	62	59	56	49	47
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Educational frequency	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
The proportion of a year group of young people starting on a course of *basic vocational training or apprenticeship training*1)	44	45	44	47	46	44	39	37	37	37	33	32	32	28	29	39
The proportion of a year group of young people starting on a *course of upper secondary education*2)	11	11	11	11	14	15	18	21	23	24	26 3)	30 3)	32 3)	30	32	32
The proportion of a year group of young people who *neither* start on a course of *basic vocational training, apprenticeship training nor upper secondary education* .	45	44	45	42	40	41	43	42	40	39	41	38	36	42	39	29
TOTAL %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Comments and notes on Table 1:

[1] For the period up to 1958 the frequency of apprenticeships relates only to apprenticeships that are subject to contract. From 1958 the frequencies relate to apprenticeships that are subject to contract (the so-called Section 1 apprentices) as well as apprenticeships that are not subject to contract (the so-called Section 30 apprentices). The latter are typically apprenticeships between parents and children, and apprenticeships for young people of more than 18 years of age. As from 1972 the frequency also applies to basic vocational training in addition to the traditional apprenticeship training.

[2] The educational frequency relating to upper secondary education for the period 1945 to 1966 comprises upper secondary pupils and pupils attending a course leading to the upper secondary school leaving examination. For the period 1967 to 1975 it furthermore comprises pupils attending a higher preparatory course.

[3] The Danish National Institute of Social Research has in the published material from the survey of youths and their work and career reckoned up the frequency of upper secondary education for young people at the age of 19 in 1973 to be 24. Most of these young people will have initiated their upper secondary education in 1971 or 1972. Computations that are not included in this account show that the difference between this figure and the frequencies computed in this account can be explained by the following circumstances:

1: that these frequencies are frequencies of intake contrary to the frequency stated in the survey of youths and their work and career carried out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research, which is a frequency of completion.

2: that these frequencies comprise all persons embarking on a course of upper secondary education, irrespective of age, and this implies a number of young persons of more than 19 years in the case of upper secondary courses and higher preparatory courses.

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per cent of all persons beginning in the 1 G – the first form of the 'gymnasium', the upper secondary school – left upper secondary school without taking the upper secondary school leaving examination. This percentage has remained at approx. 10 per cent up through the 1960s and the 1970s[2]).

Thus, for a period of slightly more than 10 years after the war it is not known whether movements in the frequencies of intake will necessarily result in changes in the type of education the young people get. From the end of the 1950s and later it is on the other hand possible to infer direct from *movements* in the frequencies of intake to *movements* in the frequencies of completion.

It appears from table 1 that in the last half of the 1940s and in the main part of the 1950s there is a comparatively constant proportion of a year group – approx. a third – who start on a course of vocational training. From the end of the 1950s, i.e. 1958, and to the mid-1960s we see on the other hand that a steadily increasing proportion of a year group of young people receive vocational training.

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[1]) For the period 1958 to 1963 Klöcker-Larsen has computed the following drop-out rates: *18, 16, 18, 24, 20,* and *21* (Flemming Klöcker-Larsen: Apprenticeship Training in Denmark, Copenhagen 1964, p. 157). The following drop-out rates have been computed for the years 1965, 1969, and 1973 on the basis of 'Statistiske Efterretninger' (Statistical News): *23, 23,* and *20.*

[2]) The recommendation made by the Committee on Prognoses for Upper-Secondary Education (March 8, 1960) has computed the drop-out rate for the pupils starting in 1 G, the mathematical side in 1957 at *12 per cent,* and for the ones starting in the modern languages side at *11 per cent.* In 'Statistics for the primary and lower secondary school and the upper secondary school 1965–66' from the Economic-Statistical Adviser to the Ministry of Education is listed a computation of the proportion of pupils starting in the 1 G in 1964 who leave school at some time in the 3 years in upper secondary education; pupils failing at the upper secondary school leaving examination however being excepted. This amounts to a drop-out rate of *8.0.* The drop-out rate for the years 1972–73, 1973–74, and 1974–75 for pupils starting in 1 G in 1971 (also excluding pupils failing at the upper secondary school leaving examination) is computed at *9.6*; this computation is based on the figures found in 'Statistics for upper secondary education, courses leading to the upper secondary school leaving examination, and the higher preparatory courses' prepared by the Economic-Statistical Adviser to the Ministry of Education.

The vocational frequency of education culminates in 1964 when almost half of a year group of young people (47 per cent) are in the process of apprenticeship training. From 1964 to the beginning of the 1970s the trend to take this type of training falls steeply. It seems as if this fall in the intake to vocational courses is superseded by a rise in 1976. Only statistical material covering the next few years can show whether we are facing a period of growth in the intake to the more practically slanted course of vocational training. The situation here at the middle of the 1970s is that the frequency of vocational training is where it was at the end of the 1950s – at approx. a third of a year group of young people.

If we only consider the traditional apprenticeship training the decline has however been considerably more pronounced than appears immediately from table 1. Whereas all the 47 per cent that in 1964 were in the process of vocational training were apprentices, only 20 per cent of the 29 per cent – who in 1975 were in the process of vocational training – were apprentices in the traditional sense – the rest were basic vocational training pupils (cf. sub-appendix table 1). The frequency of apprenticeships was thus more than halved over a period of less than 10 years.

Contrary to the frequency for intake to vocational training which was constant, increasing, and decreasing in the period under review, the frequency for upper secondary education is on the increase in roughly all of the period. In the main part of the post-war period this growth was fairly limited. From the middle of the 1940s and up to mid-1950s 5 to 6 per cent of a year group of young people were admitted to upper secondary education. Then the frequency increases by just under one percentage point a year, and by the middle of the 1960s it is approx. 11 per cent. From 1965 we see a steep rise in the frequency for upper secondary education, contrary to previous trends. By the middle of the 1970s it reaches about a third of a year group of young people.

The point of using the term the "residual group" is to get a comprehensive view of the size of a proportion of a year group of young people who do not get through the educational system and get an education or training giving vocational qualification. In an analysis dealing with the changes in the need for qualification in the economic structure as well as in an analysis dealing with the risk various groups of young people experience of running into serious social problems such as unemployment, it is extremely relevant to know the size of the proportion of a year group of young people who up through the post-war period enter the labour market without any kind of formal vocational qualifications.

In this paper I intend to examine the residual group in connection with the type of education chosen by the 16 to 19-year-olds. Obviously, such a computation of the residual group which solely deals with the types of education chosen in the early years of adolescence is not identical with a computation of the residual group of vocational training. Some of the young persons who at the age of 19 have not received any education after primary and lower secondary education will later on start on a course and thus no longer be included in the residual group. Conversely, not all young people who at the age of 19 are in the process of general education will continue in a course giving vocational qualification. Analyses from the Danish National Institute of Social Research show that the residual group gets 5 to 6 per cent smaller if it is computed when the young people are in their middle twenties than if it is computed when they are at the age of 19[3]).

However, in such an attempt at assessing the development of the residual group over a long period of time, we encounter a number of technical problems which will be briefly explained here. Firstly, a computation of the residual group should as a matter of principle not be based on frequencies of intake but on frequencies of completion. As this paper is dealing with the *development* in the size of the residual group as opposed to a quite exact statement of the size of it in *a given year*, it is nevertheless defensible to base the computation of it on frequencies of intake, as it is known that the drop-out rates in the various courses are constant. In connection with a computation of a residual group the individual should further only be counted once, for instance the first time he starts on a course giving vocational qualification, or when he starts on a course which does not in itself give vocational qualification, but about which it may be said with reasonable certainty that it leads to another type of education giving vocational qualification. The very general problem will therefore be to find out which courses are relevant to take into account when we are to compute the size of the residual group.

In the early years after the War – indeed, actually even up to the introduction of courses for semi-skilled workers and certain short courses for technicians in the late 1950s – apprenticeship training was the only vocational training within urban trades. In addition to these there were the courses provided by agricultural schools. Most of these courses were comparatively short ones – lasting 6 to 12 months. The applicants were primarily men between 18 and 25. Up through the 1940s, 1950,s and the first half of the 1960s between 2,000 and 3,000 young people a year participated in the courses at the agricultural schools – i.e. between 3 and 4 per cent of a year group of young people[4]). On balance all the young people who in this period received an upper secondary education continued in a course of further education or training giving vocational qualification. Of the courses of medium length which do not necessarily require an upper secondary school leaving examination, the courses at the teacher training colleges were the most applied for. Approx. 1,000 young people a year applied for these courses up through the 1950s without previously having taken the upper secondary school leaving examination.[5]) Thus, it is only 1 or 2 per cent of a year group.

All things considered these considerations mean: that the residual from table 1 can be used in an examination of the *development* in the size of the residual group in the 1940s and the 1950s[6]), as long as we keep in mind that the size of the residual group is overestimated by approx. 4 to 5 per cent through the entire period.

When computing the size of the residual group in the years after 1960 it is however necessary also to take into account the short basic courses for technicians which were introduced at the end of the 1950s. The intake to these courses grew in particular at the beginning of the 1960s, and by the middle of the 1960s stabilized at between 3 and 4 per cent of a year group of young people (table 2 and 3).

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[3]) Bente Ørum: The Residual Group of Education. Bulletin No. 13 from the Danish National Institute of Social Research, 1975.

[4]) Statistical News for 1947, 1952, 1957, 1962, and 1967.

[5]) Economic-Statistical Adviser to the Ministry of Education: "Statistics and Prognoses 1953 –1972: Universities, Institutes of Higher Education, Teacher Training Colleges, and Engineering Colleges", p. 263.

[6]) If we base computations of the size of the residual group on official statistics for the intake to different types of education, there will always be a certain amount of risk of counting persons twice. Such a computation of the residual group will always amount to a minimum estimate. The computation of the frequency for upper secondary education does not take into account the possibility that the same person may be counted more than once. In the case of frequencies for apprenticeship training only the young people who have initiated their first course of apprenticeship training are included.

Up through the last half of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s it becomes more and more difficult to get a comprehensive view of the types of courses which the young people apply for as primary vocational training. Apprenticeship training is certainly still the dominating type of vocational training, and upper secondary education is still the commonest entry to a more theoretically slanted course of education. In spite of this this period shows a growth in the intake to a number of comparatively different courses which do not come within the provisions of the Apprenticeship Act, and which do not necessarily require previous upper secondary education. The courses in question are primarily the ones within the health and social sector. Thus, it is no longer sufficient to base a computation of the residual group on the residual quoted in table 1. On the other hand it is not feasible to compute the residual group for each of the years 1965–1976, because until 1975 the data covering the intake to these different courses for the 16 to 19-year-olds has been spread on different institutions which have used fairly different methods of computation. It is however possible to compute the size of the residual group in some few years in the period 1965 to 1976, as a few computations of the size of the residual group have been made in that period. The first one dates from 1965 and was prepared in connection with the survey of the educational situation for the 14 to 20-year-olds carried out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research. The other ones are from the

Table 2. Frequency of intake to the basic courses for middle-ranking technicians[1]), 1966, 1970, and 1972

School year	1966/67	1970/71	1972/73
The proportion of a year group of young people starting on a basic course for technicians	2.3	3.8	3.6
The average size of a year group among the 16 to 19-year-olds	79,831	74,528	74,751

NOTE: The frequency is the result of a computation of the number of young people embarking on a basic course for middle-ranking technicians as a percentage of the average of the population for each year at the ages of 16, 17, 18, and 19.

[1]) Of the courses for technicians aimed at the 16 to 19-year-olds are only included the courses which do not require other previous training than basic schooling, as a rule technical preparatory examination or the reál examination. The courses in question are those leading to qualification as technical assistant, draughtsman, draper's assistant, biology laboratory technologist physics, laboratory technologist, chemistry laboratory technologist, common basic course for laboratory technologists, interior designer, and the courses at the workshop schools.

Sources: Economic-statistical Adviser to the Ministry of Education: "Statistics 1966–73 – Courses leading to an Examination, Technical Schools, and Commercial Schools".

Duplicated material from the National Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Tables: "The Population in the Individual Municipalities as at January 1" for 1971 and 1973.

Table 3. The number of pupils attending the basic courses for middle-ranking technicians in selected years in the period from 1960 to 1973

1961–62	1964–65	1966–67	1968–69	1970–71	1972–73
986	3,040	2,619	2,845	3,389	3,414

[1] The table comprises courses for technical assistants, draughtsmen, draper's assistants, biology laboratory technologists, physics laboratory technologist, chemistry laboratory technologists, common basic course for laboratory technologists and laboratory technicians.

Source: The Ministry of Education: Recommendation on the Setting Up of an Educational Council for the Training of Technicians. Recommendation No. 710, Copenhagen 1974, p. 136.

1970s. They are the Comprehensive Plan from 1972, the 1973 survey of youths and their work and career carried out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research in 1973, and the one prepared by the National Bureau of Statistics in 1975. These computations are shown in table 4 together with the residual in selected years up through the 1940s and the 1950s.[7]

It appears from the table that in the last half of the 1940s and the main part of the 1950s there is a comparatively constant proportion of a year group of young people who do not get any vocational training. From the end of the 1950s this proportion is reduced quite substantially, and in 1965 it amounts to about a third of a year group of young people. It looks as if it is going to stabilize at this level. From 1965 to 1973 the residual group of 19-year-olds was not reduced appreciably. From 1973 to 1975 it is no longer possible to get figures that are immediately comparable. The individual statistics prepared by the National Bureau of Statistics relating to the educational field are so relatively new that it is only possible to make a computation of the residual group at the age of 18 if the generation method is used (as it is here). As some young people initiate their first vocational training as late as at the age of 19, the residual group will always be somewhat larger when it is computed for people of the age of 18 than at the age of 19. The size of the residual group at the age of 18 and 19 has been computed for the generation followed by the survey of youths and their work and career prepared by the Danish National Institute of Social Research. As will appear from table 4 there is a residual group of 34 per cent at the age of 18, and 29 per cent at the age of 19 in 1972 and 1973.[8] If we furthermore take into account that the residual in this survey is socially imbalanced as regards the "recruitment" so that these surveys will tend to underestimate the size of the residual group, these considerations will on balance mean that on the basis of table 4 it may be concluded that the residual group in connection with the intake to vocational training in the early years of adolescence has not been reduced from 1973 to 1975.

The overall result of this survey of the development in the frequency relating to upper secondary education, vocational frequency, and the residual group is that the type of education chosen by a generation of young people taken as a whole has undergone extensive changes from the early post-war period and up till today. In the weakly industrialized community of the early post-war period the sorting

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[7] See the notes on table 4 as regards the mutual comparability of the tables.

[8] Bente Ørum: From School to Job. Bulletin No. 7, 1974. The Danish National Institute of Social Research.

Table 4. Estimate of the size of the residual group in selected years up through the post-war period

Year	Method of computation		
	A The proportion of a year group of young people who neither begin on a course of upper secondary education nor a basic course of vocational training. 1)	*B* The proportion of a year group of young people who *at the age of 19* have either completed an education giving vocational qualification or who have started on an education. 2)	*C* The proportion of a year group of young people who *at the age of 18* have either completed a training giving vocational qualification or who have started on an education. 3)
1946	62		
1950	62		
1955	60		
1958	56		
1960	47		
1965 4)	37 5)	31	
1972		28	34
1973		29	
1975			37

1) These computations of the residual group may be found in table 1 and 2. The method of computation only takes into account apprenticeship training, the training of middle-ranking technicians who only need primary and lower secondary education as a background, and upper secondary education.

2) These computations of the residual group may be found in the survey of the educational situation for the 14 to 20-year-olds carried out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research, 1965, the survey of youths and their work and career carried out by the same institute in 1973, and statistics collected and processed in connection with the comprehensive plan for further education prepared by the Ministry of Education (1972). The Comprehensive Plan contains a compilation of statistics from a wide range of courses which the 16 to 19-year-olds apply for, and a year group of young people have been grouped according to the type of education they have chosen or have completed. The result may be seen in the following table:

Breakdown of a year group of 19-year-old men and women by educational groups, 1972 (Estimate)

	Year group of 19-year olds	Upper sec. school & higher prep. educ	Basic course of voc. train.	Health & soc. educ.	Maritime & agric. train.	Courses aimed at gov't and mun. services	Residual group
	Number	– per cent –					
Men	38,600	19.7	53.6	3.1	3.6	1.3	18.7
Women	36,200	20.2	25.7	13.8	0.3	1.4	38.6
TOTAL	74,800	19.9	40.1	8.3	2.0	1.3	28.4

Source: The Comprehensive plan, p. 66, Table 3.

Both in the survey of the educational situation for the 14–20-year olds and in the survey of youths and their work and career information has been compiled covering a generation of young people as to the type of education they have completed or the course they are attending at the time of being interviewed. In the computation of the residual group these surveys have included all persons who have either completed a course of training giving vocational qualification or are in the process of completing such a course. Thus, also young people who are attending a general course of study, such as a stay at folk high school or at a continuation school, are included in the group termed "students/pupils", even though such attendance is not in all cases an element of a course of vocational training. The 1-year commercial examination without any subsequent training is included in the residual group in these surveys. The same applies to the short courses at the schools for semi-skilled workers.

3) The 1972 computation is taken from the survey of youths and their work and career prepared by the Danish National Institute of Social Research. It has been computed according to the same criteria and on the basis of the 1973 survey at the age of 19 (cf. note 2). The computation from 1975 is based on material from the integrated register of pupils in the individual statistics for the educational field recently established by the National Bureau of Statistics. The register is a compilation of 5 sectional registers which together cover practically all the educational institutions in Denmark. In a computation of the distribution of a year group of young people on the various types of education the individual young person is only counted once, namely in such a way that education in progress is registered rather than completed education, and vocational training is registered rather than general education. As is the case with the computation carried out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research, the computation only covers one generation, but in this one it is computed for pupils/students *at the age of 18*. The figures apply to 95 per cent of all young people born in 1957. It has been attempted to compute the size of the residual group according to the same guidelines as are followed in the survey prepared by the Danish National Institute of Social Research – commercial examination without subsequent training or education is however *not* included in the residual group here.

4) The difference between the 37 per cent and the 31 per cent is primarily due to the following facts:

- the residual group computed according to method A is slightly overestimated. In 1965 there were some courses which could be completed without any previous upper secondary education or basic vocationally slanted training. The courses that are primarily characterized by a high intake of young people are in particular the training of primary and lower secondary school teachers, and the courses at agricultural schools. Up through the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1960s between 1,000 and 2,000 young people were admitted to courses qualifying for a job as a primary and lower secondary school teacher without having passed the upper secondary school leaving examination, i.e. approx. 2 per cent of a year group of young people (Economic-statistical Adviser to the Ministry of Education: Statistics and Prognoses 1953–1972: Universities, Institutes of Higher Education, Teacher Training Colleges, and Engineering Colleges, p. 263). Between 2,000 and 3,000 young people on a yearly basis participated in the courses at agriculturel schools in the same period, i.e. between 3 and 4 per cent of a year group (Statistical News for 1947, 1952, 1957, and 1962.)
- the residual group computed according

of a generation of young people through the educational system resulted in a labour market that was supplied with manpower, – and of this fresh supply approx. $^1/_{20}$th had a general and theoretical education, approx. a third had completed a course of vocational training, and more than half had not received any type of training. In the highly developed industrial society at the middle of the 1970s it looks as if the educational system is still designed for supplying three main groups. The educational results of a year group of young people at the middle of the 1970s is that young people are divided into three almost equally large groups. In 1976 a third get a more general and theoretically slanted education. About a third get vocational training, and slightly less than a third do not in the years of adolescence receive vocational training and become the ordinary subordinate mass labour.

As will appear from the above this development has not been even over the period but has occured stages. The first stage goes from the middle of the 1940s to the end of the 1950s where the intake to the various courses has been the same from one year to another as regards a generation of young people. It is true that the frequency for upper secondary education increases slightly, but it is not enough to change the general picture. The next stage is somewhat shorter than the first one and goes from 1958 to the middle of the 1960s.

In this period the total intake to education increased considerably as we see a steep rise in the frequency for intake to vocational courses with a resultant pronounced decrease in the size of the residual group, which is almost halved in less than 10 years. After 1965 we do not any longer see a growth in the intake to education but a stabilization of a residual group of just under a third of a year group of young people. At the same time as this stabilization sets in there is a pronounced change as to the type of education the students receive. The intake to general education is strengthened at the expense of training of a practical vocational slant. The frequency for upper

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to method B is underestimated as all persons who at the time of being interviewed are not in the process of general education – such as a stay at a folk high school – are not included in the residual group, no matter whether this general education is an element in a course of vocational training.

5) This figure is arrived at by reducing by 3 per cent the 40 per cent of a year group of young people who according to table 1 are not pursuing a course of vocational training or a course of upper secondary education, as according to tables 2 and 3 this figure can be estimated to be the proportion of a year group of young people who by the mid-1960s were completing the basic course for middle-ranking technicians.

Sources:

1946–1965: Tables 1,2, and 3.

1965: Ørum, Bente: *From school to job*, Bulletin No. 7, p. 29, the Danish National Institute of Social Research.

1972: Comprehensive Plan for Further Education 1974–1987, p. 66.
Ørum, Bente: *From school to job*, Bulletin No. 7, tables 2.8 and 2.10, the Danish National Institute of Social Research.

1973: Ørum, Bente: *From school to job*, Bulletin No. 7, p. 28, the Danish National Institute of Social Research.

1975: Tables from the integrated register of pupils in the individual statistics for the educational field, the National Bureau of Statistics.

secondary education thus also falls steeply in this period, and at the same time the vocational frequency drops. As has been mentioned before the result is that the types of education chosen by a generation of young people in the mid-1970s largely follow the pattern that a third start on more general and theoretical education, upwards of a third start on a vocational course with a practical slant, and just under a third have not yet at the age of 19 embarked on any kind of training or education after the basic primary and lower secondary education.

Sub-Appendix Tables

Sub-appendix tables

Explanation of symbols

. . .	Data not available
.	Category not applicable
"	Figures not relevant in this context
–	Magnitude nil
0 0.0	Magnitude less than 0.5 per cent.

Sub-appendixtable 1. Frequencies of intake for “Section 1 apprentices”, “Section 30 apprentices”, and basic vocational training pupils, 1974–1975

Type of vocational training	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Section 1 apprentices	20.8	33.3	31.0	32.0	30.4	32.2	30.9	30.9	33.0	35.0	33.3	31.4	34.1	33.3	38.3	29.3
Section 30 apprentices	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.9	2.3	3.6
Basic vocational training pupils	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Size of average year group among 14–18-year-olds	61145	59491	59188	58428	58487	58577	59289	59794	61033	61799	63081	63938	66577	69575	73977	78746
Number af 20-year-olds	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	60072	62178	62126
Number of 17-year-olds	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”

Type of vocational training	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974 1)	1975	1976
Section 1 apprentices	38.0	39.5	38.3	40.5	38.7	36.7	33.1	30.9	29.3	27.9	23.4	21.1	19.6	23.0	20.2	28.2
Section 30 apprentices	5.5	5.5	5.5	6.9	7.1	6.8	6.3	6.5	7.9	9.4	9.1	9.6	10.0			
Basic vocational training pupils	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.5	2.8	4.8	8.7	10.5
Size of average year group among 14–18-year-olds	84109	85706	86242	84382	82242	78530	76376	75033	74515	74769	74555	74470	74359	74360	74189	74404
Number of 20-year-olds	64562	65283	74466	77937	84389	88545	89561	86084	80608	76008	74764	73834	74956			
Number of 17-year-olds	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	”	74560	74927	73906	73404	72640

Notes

a) In the period up to the passing of the new Apprenticeship Act, 1956 the statistics available only gives information about apprenticeships subject to contract. After 1958 it is however possible to get information about apprenticeships subject to contract (the so-called Section 1 apprentices) as well as apprenticeships that are not subject to contract (the so-called Section 30 apprentices). The latter will typically be apprenticeships between parents and children and apprenticeships for young people over 18. At the computation of the intake to apprenticeship training young people who have previously entered into apprenticeship contracts have been deducted as regards all of the years.

b) By frequencies of intake is meant a figure which in percentage indicates the size of the proportion of a year group of young people starting on a specific course of training or education. *The Section 1 frequency* was arrived at by computing the number of apprenticeships subject to contract entered into in each year as a percentage of the average of the population of each year at the beginning of the year at the ages of 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18.

The Section 30 frequency was arrived at by computing the number of apprenticeships entered into that are not subject to contract in each year as a percentage of the number of 20 year-olds in the individual years at the beginning of the year.

The frequency for basic vocational training was arrived at by computing the number of pupils admitted to the basic year in each individual school year as a percentage of the number of 17-year-olds as at January 1 in that school year.

1) From 1974 the methods of computation were changed for the statistics relating to apprentices. Previously the intake in the course of one calendar year was registered, but now the intake from October 1 in one year to September 30 in the following is registered. Previously Section 1 and Section 30 apprentices were registered separately, but now they are registered under the same heading. The basis for the computation of the total frequency for apprentices in 1974, 1975, and 1976 is the average size of a year group among the 14 to 20-year-olds in each of these years.

Sources:

The intake to apprenticeship training: Statistical News: "Statistics Relating to Apprentices" for each of the years 1944 to 1974 and 1976. News from the National Bureau of Statistics No. 8 and No. 226, 1977, and the Economic-Statistical Adviser to the Ministry of Education: "Educational Statistics" No. 1, 1976.

The population computed in one-year age groups: 1945–1970: Duplicated material from the National Bureau of Statistics. The distribution by age of the population is here dependent on the year in question, computed on the basis of the census in 1945, 1950, 1960, and 1965. 1971–77: Statistical Tables: "The population in the individual municipalities as at January 1" for each of the years 1971–1977.

Sub-appendixtable 2. Frequencies of intake for upper secondary education, courses leading to the upper secondary school leaving examination, and higher preparatory courses, 1945–1975

Type of upper secondary education	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Upper secondary school	4.6	4.8	4.4	4.9	4.8	5.2	5.1	5.3	5.5	5.8	6.1	5.9	6.5	8.2	8.4	9.1
Courses leading to upper sec. school leaving exam	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.2
Higher prep. course	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Number of 16-year-olds	62520	58443	59789	57821	58989	57603	59464	59605	61346	61697	63505	63693	65702	65946	75061	78722
Number of 20-year-olds	65700	62919	61156	58935	59475	57158	59084	56769	57993	56739	56786	58700	60120	60072	62178	62126

Type of upper sec. education	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Upper secondary school	9.3	9.8	9.3	10.0	11.4	13.0	14.4	16.4	16.3	16.4	17.4	19.3	20.1	19.2	19.7	20.7
Courses leading to upper sec. school leaving exam	1.3	1.6	1.7	1.3	2.2	2.2	2.4	3.0	3.2	3.3	3.6	3.6	3.2	2.5	2.6	2.3
Higher prep. course	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.9	1.[illegible]	3.0	3.8	5.3	7.1	8.5	8.6	9.4	9.1
Number of 16-year-olds	85104	89560	90017	86137	81157	76214	76504	73200	74481	75135	73836	74578	74890	73963	73762	74794
Number of 20-year-olds	61562	65283	74466	77937	84389	88545	89561	86084	80608	76008	74764	73834	74956	76229	74239	74855

Comments and notes on Sub-appendix table 2

Comments:

a) It has not been possible to get data for all of the years relating to *the intake* to 1 G and the 1st form at a course leading to upper secondary school leaving examination. The data relating to the intake to upper secondary schools is not available until 1954, and the data relating to the courses not until 1965. Until then the only data available covers upper secondary school leaving leaving examinations passed from upper secondary school and courses, respectively.

In the computations I treat the data relating to upper secondary school leaving examinations as if it was equal to the intake to this type of education 3 or 2 years before – depending on whether the examination is taken at a course or at an upper secondary school. In this way I compute some frequencies that are probably on the low side as a result of dropout rates and failure rates; these rates are however not very large. There is data available for some few years before 1960 as regards the number of pupils attending 1 G. For the years 1951 and 1946 I have computed the frequencies of intake. The below comparison with the frequencies in sub-appendix 2 shows very small differences between the two types of computation.

	1951	1946
Figures in the table	5.1	4.8
Actual frequencies of intake ..	5.1	4.9

b) By frequencies of intake are meant figures indicating in percentages the proportion of a year group of young people starting on a specific course. The frequencies have been computed in the following way: *Upper secondary frequencies:* 1945–1953: The upper secondary frequency for one year, for instance 1945, is reached by computing the number of examinations passed three years later (1948) as a percentage of the number of 16-year-olds in 1945. 1954–1976: Here the number of pupils attending the 1 G form – computed at the beginning of each individual school year has been computed as a percentage of the number of 16-year-olds in the individual years at the beginning of the year. The frequency for courses leading to *the upper secondary school leaving examination:* 1945–1964: The frequency in one year, for instance 1945, has been reached by computing the number of examinations passed two years after (1947) as a percentage of the number of 20-year-olds in 1945, 1965–1976: Here the number of pupils attending the first form at a course (two or three year courses) have been computed at the beginning of the individual school years as a percentage of the number of 20-year-olds in the individual years at the beginning of the year. *The frequency for higher preparatory examination:* the number of pupils in the first form at a higher preparatory course – stated at the beginning of the individual school year – is computed as a percentage of the number of 20-year-olds in the individual years at the beginning of the year.

Sources:

The number of examinations passed at upper secondary schools and courses leading to the upper secondary school leaving examination. Statistical Yearbook for the years 1948 to 1967.

The number of pupils in the 1 G form, the 1st form at a course, and the first form at a higher preparatory course.

Antonsen and Danneskiold-Samsøe: The Need for Upper Secondary Schools 1985. Copenhagen 1968, The Economic-Statistical Adviser to the Ministry of Education: "Statistics for the Primary and Lower Secondary School and the Upper Secondary School" for the years 1965–66 and 1966–67, the Economic-statistical

Adviser to the Ministry of Education: "Statistics for the Upper Secondary School, the Course Leading to the Upper Secondary School Leaving Examination, and the Higher Preparatory Course" for the years 1967–68 to 1974–75, Statistical News No. A2, 1977, and material from the Ministry of Education – the Directorate for Upper Secondary Schools and Higher Preparatory Education.

The population by one-year age groups, 1945–1970, duplicated material from the National Bureau of Statistics. The population and its distribution by age is here dependent on the year in question, computed on the basis of the census in the years: 1945, 1950, 1960, and 1965. 1971–77: "Statistical Tables: the population in the individual municipalities as at January 1" for each of the years 1971–77.

THE CENTRAL COUNCIL
OF EDUCATION
The Secretariat

Appendix 4

Total Income During Working Life

1. To illustrate the connection between the income of a person and his education we have made a comparison between the incomes of a number of wage and salary earners with typically different educational background. As the trend in incomes in the career of individual persons differ from one group to another, we have made a computation of *the typical total income during working life* for each of the groups. This appendix explains the computations carried out and the prerequisites. Table 1 contains a survey of the result of the computation as an index with wages earned by smiths/machine-tool operators = 100 for each of the three years for which the computations have been carried out.

2. The term "total income during working life" is a theoretical term that is intended to illustrate what a person would earn in total from the time he entered the labour market and to his death; on the assumption that the income all the way through life corresponded to the income earned by the various age groups at the time of being engaged in occupational employment. The actual total income during working life will thus deviate from this, as there are constantly changes in the wage and salary scales and level of wages and salaries.

The total income during working life used for this analysis have been computed on the basis of a number of simplified prerequisites. Thus, the computations do not take into account loss of income during periods of unemployment, illness, and early retirement.

Furthermore, the full advantages of the pensions are not included for those who

Table 1. Computation of the total income during working life for different groups of wage and salary earners.[2])

In this index the total income during working life of a smith/machine-tool operator equals 100 in each of the 3 years[2])

	1960	1970	1975
Female textil worker	59	68	71
Female clerk in private employment	72	77	76
Warehouseman	74	78	76
Nurse[1])	76	99	94
Clerk in government services	83	95	86
Metal worker	86	87	86
Navvy[1])	93	108	98
Assistant in government services	96	107	98
Smith/Machine-tool operator	100	100	100
Bricklayer's assistant	111	124	101
Policeman[1])	109	128	119
Bricklayer	125	132	104
Primary and lower secondary school teacher[1])	142	172	141
Upper secondary school teacher[1])	167	213	170
Lawyers/economists in government services[1]) ...	171	209	174
M. Sc. in engineering in private employment	–	216	175

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[1]) Inclusive of the pension contributions paid out of public funds.

[2]) For 1960 and 1970 the computations have been carried out by the Secretariat of the Council of Economic Advisers, cf. "Danish Economy", spring 1972, and for 1975 the computations have been prepared by the Ministry of Finance; as regards some of the groups as answers to questions posed by the Committee on Wages and Salaries of the Folketing, and as regards the others at the request of the CCE, cf. Subappendix 1.

have a long educational background, and neither is the opportunity for advancement over and above the automatic wage increases according to the wage and salary schedule. Furthermore, earnings on the side and taxes are excluded from the computation.

A detailed description of the prerequisites may be found in the sub-appendix.

3. The reason why computations of total income during working life are calculated as a supplement to the running wage and salary statistics is – among other reasons – that the differences in wages and salaries reflected in the running statistics do not take into account the “time profile” for the earning of income in the different trades and occupations.

It is thus characteristic of persons with an extensive educational background that they only become engaged in active employment at a relatively late stage, and consequently they experience a number of years with no income or very low income. These persons – and especially university graduates – have on the other hand a considerably higher annual income later on, and in the first 15 years they have in particular an income rising gradually.

Whereas table 1 only shows the relative distribution between the groups in each of the 3 years – and thus also the relative shifts – the absolute movements will appear from table 2. All incomes have gone up very steeply over the 15 years period – they have tripled or quadrupled – but the rate of increase has differed from one group to another.

Table 2. The trend of wages and salaries 1960–75 illustrated by computations of total income during working life (simple addition)

	Income			Rate of increase			Wage index – Smith/Machine-tool operator = 100		
	1960 D.kr. 1,000	1970 D.kr. 1,000	1975 D.kr. 1,000	1960–70 per cent	1970–75 per cent	1960–75 per cent	1960	1970	1975
Female textile worker ...	510.0	1412.1	2901.3	177	105	469	59	68	71
Female clerk in private employment	617.5	1599.3	3006.3	159	88	387	72	77	73
Warehousman	641.1	1621.7	3142.1	153	94	390	74	78	76
Nurse, net wages	.....	1860.0	3445.0	...	85	...	..	90	84
Nurse, incl. pension	.....	2055.4	3803.7	...	85	...	..	99	93
Nurse, net wages	590.0	1860.0	3495.0	215	88	492	68	90	85
Nurse, incl. pension	656.7	2055.4	3853.7	213	87	487	76	99	94
Clerk in gov't serv.	720.7	1953.3	3544.1	171	81	392	83	95	86
Metal worker	740.5	1800.1	3544.8	143	97	379	86	87	86
Navvy, net wages	702.6	1970.3	3568.2	180	81	408	81	95	87
Navvy, incl. pension	799.5	2222.5	4023.1	178	81	403	93	108	98
Assistant in gov's services.	828.5	2201.1	4017.5	166	83	485	96	107	98
Smith/Machine-tool operator	863.6	2066.6	4112.1	139	99	376	100	100	100
Bricklayer's assist.	961.2	2567.2	4157.8	167	62	333	111	124	101
Bricklayer	1078.3	2731.4	4267.6	153	56	296	125	132	104
Policeman, net sal.	844.9	2370.5	4421.2	181	87	423	98	115	108
Policeman, incl. pen.	937.3	2635.2	4913.4	181	86	424	109	128	119
Primary and lower sec. school teacher – net sal. ..	1080.3	3173.6	5112.3	194	61	373	125	154	124
Primary and lower sec. school teacher – incl. p. .	1227.3	3571.0	5809.0	191	63	373	142	173	141
Upper sec. school teacher – net sal.	1288.8	3922.2	6204.3	206	58	383	149	190	151
Upper sec. school teacher – incl. pension	1445.0	4400.2	7006.7	205	59	385	167	218	170
Lawyer/economist – net salary	1307.3	3621.9	6339.5	192	66	385	151	185	154
Lawyer/economist – incl. pension	1472.7	4311.8	7162.2	193	66	386	171	209	174
M.Sc. in engineering in priv. empl.	.....	4456.0	7209.4	...	62	...	...	216	175

Sub-appendix 1

The Ministry of Finance
The Department for Wages, Salaries, and Pensions
The Statistical Adviseer

Memo Regarding the Basis for Preparing the Computations of Total Income During Working Life, 1975

Below we discuss the basis on which the 1975 computations have been prepared in comparison with the basis which according to the information available has been used for the 1970 computations.

1. Introductory comments

1.1. Amendments submitted by the EEC	1970	1975
Length of schooling for skilled as well as unskilled workers	7 years[1]	9 years
The age at which nurses embark on the training	18 –	19 –
Period of study for		
M.Sc. in engineering	4.5 –	6 –
Upper sec. school teacher	7 –	8 –
Law graduate/economist	6 –	7 –
Extra teaching hours for upper sec. school teacher	5 lessons/ week	3 lessons/ week

1.2. Other amendments

Number of man hours per year for wages paid to workers	1,950 hours	1,856 hours
Special holiday allowance according to the agreements with university graduates	0.75 %	1.25 %
Holiday allowance + allowance for holidays not falling on a Sunday	10½ %	12½ %
Apprenticeship for smith's apprentices and engineering apprentices	4 years	3½ years
Apprenticeship for bricklayer's apprentice	3½ –	3 –

1.3. How the basis differs from previously employed bases used for computing total income during working life

The computations of total income during working life for metal workers, assistants in the government services, policemen, and primary and lower secondary school teachers were prepared as an answer to question No. 13 posed by the Folketing's Committee on the Rules of Procedure in letter of April 30, 1976, to which reference is made. As regards the computations relating to primary and lower secondary school teachers it should however be noted that the educational aid which was stated to be Dkr. 6,000 a year in 1975 (as against Dkr. 5,000 in 1970), has been stated to be Dkr. 5,000 a year by the CCE.

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[1] The figure for bricklayers, smiths, and engine fitters is however estimated to be 8 years.

As regards law graduates/economists three changes have been made: (a) The period of study has been increased from six to seven years (cf. item 1.1). (b) The educational aid has been reduced from Dkr. 6,000 a year to Dkr. 5,000 a year, cf. above. (c) It appears from the 1970 figures that at that time a special holiday allowance was calculated on the basis of the wage earners' own pension contribution; such a computation has not been made for 1975 in the table that has been prepared now, and this is in accordance with the agreement in force.

Appendix 5

The Society of 1990'es.

A Report as the Basis for Deliberations on the Educational Policy of the Future

Worked out by a debate group.

As a part of the work at U-90 the Central Council of Education decided in September 1976 in accordance with the working plan accepted in February to ask a number of experts with different professional backgrounds, but with a common interest in the development of the society and the future possibilities to participate in a debate group to try to identify and evaluate the trends and problems in the development of the society which must be considered important for the preparation of a long-term educational policy. The view was that such planning deliberation as U-90 must be based on specified assumptions in respect of the general social, economic and political development.

The composition of the debate group appears from subannex 1. The group has held four meetings, and this of course implies that the group has not aimed at reaching full agreement on all details in the following report which is hereby forwarded to the educational council.

1. The main aim of the deliberation of the debate group was to identify the demands which the development in the society will probably make especially on the educational system and the conditions under which it is to be developed. However, at the same time it is evident that the educational effort is one of the factors that may have a contributory influence on the development, and which can therefore also be used as a means in a more general policy aiming at changing features in society.

This influence exerted by the educational policy on the development in society has therefore also been included in our considerations. However, our task was not to submit proposals concerning the future educational policy, but solely to work out a report which could be included as a part of the basis for the CCE's preparation of U-90.

2. The young people and adults who receive an education in 15 years live their lives and use their education in the 1990s and well into the next century. The future educational system for which U-90 is to lay down the principal lines, must therefore be avaluated in the light of the ideas we are able to form of the future society.

We realize how daring it is to try to offer an opinion about this. The development in the last 20 years has been so rapid that the present adult generations have hardly been able to find out how they can make the best of their lives in the technologized urban society and highly commercialized culture of the 1970s.

We have also felt how difficult it can be to distinguish between forecasts on the future and visions and wishes concerning future conditions. The development does not take place indepently of the wishes and views which are prevalent in the population, and the decisions – in particular in political quarters – that are taken on the basis of this. However, we do not share the opinion that the development in our society can be formed freely in accordance with the political ideas to which the population subscribes.

As far as the *external conditions* are concerned, that is to say first and foremost the international background, a small country like Denmark must of course necessarily adapt itself more to these conditions than the big countries. Here the element of forecast must therefore dominate, and for example be based on what we expect that the big countries do, that is to say what policy the big countries will pursue.

However, this should not be taken to mean that the Danish society passively has to let itself be influenced let alone dominated by all new currents and tendencies coming from abroad.

As far as the *internal conditions* are concerned, that is to say the conditions on which the Danish population may exert a greater influence, we must work with forecasts and with wishes and aims that can lead to decisions on intervening and changing the development.

Also seen in the light of the profound changes which the society has undergone during the last 15 to 20 years, it does not seem satisfactory merely to try to prognosticate current trends. Experience has clearly demonstrated that expected events continually occur; the oil crisis in 1973 was one of the characteristic examples of this.

Besides, we find that the available knowledge of the factors and connections that determine the development in our society is inadequate in important fields, and that it would be desirable to initiate more exhaustive research work.

Demographic Changes

3. The heavy decline in the birth rate which has taken place during the last 10 years in Denmark as well as in a number of other industrialized countries, is one of the conspicuous examples of unforeseen having far-reaching consequences. If the low birth rate continues it will in particular have a great affect on the dimensioning of the educational system in the 1980s and 1990s.

Behind the fall in the second half of the 1960s is a complicated set of causes some of which to all appearances are attributable to conditions in the development in our society, while others in a more transparent manner stem from the development in contraception and the better and more open information about this.

No investigations are available which illuminate what effect it has had on the low birth rate that ever more women participate in production, and the problems this gives in respect of the care of the children and the time available for being together with them.

A factor which is more related to the present situation and which has come into the picture the last couple of years is the increased rate of unemployment. It is very difficult to tell how much influence this factor has and whether it will continue to affect the birth rate if unemployment remains high over a long period of time.

Surprising shifts in the birth rate is not new. In the 1930s the birth rates were very low and during the last years of the war we got "the baby boom". It was craracteristic in both situations that is was not realized until at a relatively late time that these shifts might have far-reaching social consequences. Only then did the society become deeply worried about these and comprehensive considerations were made as to what could be done.

It is clearly a decisive prerequisite of the long-term planning of the educational system to currently follow shifts in the birth rate and to analyse the consequences they have and to make considerations as to what decisions this necessitates.

The immediate consequence is of course in the total number of pupils in kindergardens, pre-school classes and the primary school, etc. A further consequence relates to the need for teachers and educational capacity for teachers. Especially if the low birth rates continue for a number of years and especially if the level drops even more, the considerable growth we have had in the last two decades in the total number of teachers will be greatly reduced, possibly stopped completely. This in turn will mean that the average age of the teachers will gradually increase. This may lead to a teaching force which is less mobile and less open to reforms than the one we have at present.

If the fall in the birth rate is related to the trend of recent years in the *death rate* where many years' continued decline has stopped the effects will be of the following nature: the growth in population will stop and perhaps be replaced by a fall, and at the same time the age distribution of the population will graducally change so that children and young people constitute a declining part and the old an increasing part. An immediate consequence of this is a greater economic burden on the active population groups and possibly also less dynamic, one reason being that the smaller influx of young people to the labour market limits mobility.

Factors Influencing the Development

4. The unexpected changes in the birth rate are one of the many examples of unforeseen events which can make it necessary to amend plans made and decisions taken. They also illustrate that there are important factors in the development which are not subject to a conscious control and particularly not the control that takes place through the official political system.

All considerations concerning future possibilities and attempts at long-term planning must accept the condition that very considerable areas of the development in our society are determined by forces or form part of connections on which our influence is very incomplete.

We have mentioned above the development in other countries as an important determining factor, and this will be discussed more fully below.

Then we shall mention a number of other factors that exert an influence whether we like it or not.

Thus, an important factor is the *scientific knowledge*. Another is the *technological innovation* based on *research* and development studies. This is probably the factor that has contributed most to the changes in society during the last few generations.

Technology and development in production are intimately connected, and it also applies to the development in the *national economy* that the political control is only of the elements that exert influence.

Even the *political system* and the bodies which have formal control in the society are subject to currents and forces which in themselves are uncontrollable and which are difficult to predict.

Each of these factors will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters.

The International Environment

5. There is a consensus of opinion that the trend is towards breaking down the previous national barriers. This is to be understood in the widest sense because almost all aspects of our life are connected to that which goes on in the world around us. Our dependence on the international economic trends is merely one side of this. The frontiers are open to ideological and cultural currents, to new thinking and to new knowledge – and this applies to our time to a far more pronounced degree than to any previous historical period.

The increased international integration has been characterized by three trends which in our opinion will manifest themselves even more in future:

Firstly, contacts between the various populations will become *ever wider* owing to increased trade, growth in tourism, better knowledge of languages, greater distribution of books and magazines, etc. in the main languages, exchange of films and television programs and so forth.

Secondly, the spreading takes place at a far *more rapid pace* than before, first and foremost by virtue of the technological possibilities. This applies of course to a pronounced degree to the communication of news, but also to the effects of cultural and political fashion-currents and the communication of scientific conquests.

Thirdly, on a global an regional basis the *international organizations* have acquired an ever increasing importance, a feature which is probably characteristic of the last 30 years in particular. This new feature in international intercourse must be regarded more as a result of the above-mentioned tendencies to integration than as a driving factor in the development. However, the bodies on co-operation by the politicians of course react on the integration process.

Some feel that our participation in international bodies, and perhaps particularly in strong regional organizations such as the EEC involves the danger of our losing our national identity and of weakening our possibilities of self-determination. The strong opposition to our joining the EEC was an expression of this. On the other hand, some have pointed out that the participation in the international co-operation has contributed towards increasing our understanding of the development in other countries and of awakening our understanding of the mutual dependence. Even though the co-operation has given also the small countries new possibilities of stating their opinion, no decisive change has, however, taken place in the relative strength of the various countries. There is no reason to expect changes in this respect within a foreseable future.

Increased international intercourse will inevitably affect language and patterns of behaviour and in a number of respects efface features of national character which have been peculiar to previous generations. As a matter of fact, tendencies are seen in various parts of the world towards reinforced nationalism and new wishes for political independence as a reaction to this.

Based on the experience gained till now we do not find that such cultural fermentation is any disaster as long as it goes on within the framework of peaceful coexistence.

It is important that the school allows for the increased internationalization through instruction in languages and wide information about the world community in which we live. It is also necessary that people know their own society and understand its role in relation to other countries as well as its historical background and characteristics. Such an awakening of the people to their own situation may perhaps simultaneously contribute to maintaining the valuable features of national characteristics while creating at the same time a better position for holding our own in the international environment.

Scientific Knowledge and Technological Innovation

6. A number of factors in the development presumably entail a continued high rate of innovation.

Firstly, all industrialized countries now channel so huge funds into research and development studies on all fields that this will inevitably result in new knowledge, new ideas and inventions, etc. This applies not only to technology understood more narrowly as something which is related to the material production, but also to the development in the society in a wider sense such as changes in social structures, in information level, social conventions and principles of management.

Secondly, the great educational effort which has characterized the last 10 years will lead to a situation where in 15 and 20 years a far greater part of the adults has received a good education. As it must be expected that the educational effort will be further intensified, the population in the 1990s will be far better equipped to utilize the knowledge available and to work with new methods in the production and in other respects.

Thirdly, the modern societies have seen a breaking-down of a number of standards which were previously a barrier to strong innovation. The populations in the western industrialized societies – in particular of course the young ones – have become very open to new throughts end new ways in various fields. Conceptions of a constant development in all respects, of the conditions under which we live being only stages in a development, and of this being tantamount to progress and improvement are deeply rooted in the western culture.

This again is undoubtedly due to fundamental features in the economic systems in the western societies, viz. the dominating position of the commercial points of view. Goods are produced in order to be sold, and the sales need urges the firms to constantly find new outlets and develop new articles to sell. The pressure of competition and the necessity of obtaining profits constantly require rationalizations and improvements in the production equipment and methods.

Other considerations undoubtedly also manifest themselves in the management of the firms, including the regard for the employees' job satisfaction and continued employment. The managers' achievement motive is another independent element. However, these considerations also act in a direction towards employing as quickly as possible new knowledge and ideas to ensure the firm's capability of surviving and progress.

Though we have pointed out these features in the development, it does not mean that we have decided whether they in themselves are valuable; we have only demonstrated that they are important factors which taken together give a rather safe basis for stating that we will still witness a rapid technological development with a great flow of innovations.

It is far more difficult to predict what content and character the innovations will have. At present nothing indicates that we will see any completely revolutionary innovations within the next 20 years; such innovations have a very long period of development and maturing, and the basis for them would therefore have to be known today.

However, in the course of 20 years a dense flow of individually far-reaching innovations may profoundly change our life. And we must realize that far from all of these innovations will be equally beneficial.

The very circumstance that the development goes so fast creates strenous situations for many people, for example that they are forced to change jobs, give up being self-employed, move from one environment to another, etc. Some technological innovations have disadvantageous or directly detrimental side effects such as pollution or poisoning; it is therefore necessary to establish a co-operation between the public and the undertakings to control the development.

Economic Control

7. The production and the distribution of the material goods are probably the area of the community life where it is most evident that the control does *not* entirely take place through the political system, but to a great extent through quite different mechanisms. The price mechanism and the market forces play a dominating role in this field, and it is in particular characteristic of the western societies that the decisive decisions, viz. those relating to investments, expansion, shift or reduction in the production, appointment and dismissal of workers, etc. are made by the individual managements separately. Fur-

ther, that these decisions are mainly made on the basis of an evaluation of the interests of the firm, and the regard for the capital invested in the firm.

Some of the central problems in the development in our society and the overall economic control are present here. As far as we can see there are some relatively clear tendencies at present.

The first is in a direction of greater and greater *public participation in and influence on* the control of the economy. *Direct* public participation in the production of goods is used less in Denmark than in other countries, perhaps especially because the majority of the Danish firms are rather small and do not require much capital, but, on the contrary, are typically based on highly specialized and highly qualified work. The reason why the total public sector in Denmark nevertheless comprises about 25 per cent of all places of work is solely the high rate of growth in public service institutions within the health service, public assistance and education. As far as we can see it will be a great issue in Danish politics in the coming years whether the state and/or the municipalities shall take a more active part in the production of goods; or whether services should be transferred from the public to the private sector.

Indirect control of the private enterprises through public rules and provisions,, through dues and subsides or supply of capital will probably acquire a greater importance. Tendencies towards this have admittedly also manifested themselves earlier, and in some periods public restrictions on private freedom of action have had a far greater influence than in recent years. The interventions have, however, been of a clearly temporary nature, aiming at acute situations of crisis and war, and the restrictions have therefore also been lifted when the acute need had disappeared (though not without political struggle).

In some respects there is already an increasing interest in a supreme control of the development in the structure of the economy, particularly with a view to considering consumers' and workers' interests, for example the working environment, and attending to the general environmental considerations (pollution and poisoning) which for reasons of competition inter alia from abroad the firms must give a low priority. To this should be added the regard for international agreements which acquire an increasing importance.

In the coming years' considerations we shall undoubtedly be faced with ever stronger demands for a supreme public control at any rate as regards laying down general guide lines based on aims of a more long-term nature. Even though this may be at variance with other interests in the political parties, we think that we can observe a political understanding of the expediency of utilizing to a greater extent than before the planning tools available to ensure for example a better co-ordination of the many public interventions.

The other important tendency at present, which in a greater degree is of a more recent date, concerns a *"democratization" of the decision-making processes* in the individual firms, including the public institutions. Its forms are manifold, covering improvement in the shop-steward principle and co-operation committees, workers' participation in boards, information meetings, workers' conferences and internal newspapers, leaflets, etc. for supplying information about conditions in the firm. It is important that the further development in the various forms of workers' influence and co-determination emanate from an active interest among the workers. It is our impression that the workers are becoming more and more interested in improving the supply of information to the workers as well as the influence on the decision-making process. However, the workers often feel rather helpless in face of the managers who by virtue of their better education and many years' experience in management have advantages which worker representatives have difficulties in coping with.

Also on the part of the managers it seems that more and more firms understand the need for more "democratic" forms of management.

These tendencies in the development, which in some respects are probably only the beginning of a new development, cause problems of course.

One of them is that the traditional conflict between the interests of the individual firms and supreme public interests gets a new dimension, if increased workers' participation in the firms is to get a real content. To conquer this clash it is *both* required that the workers understand the social conditions *and* that the politicians at the central level explain and justify the expediency of the interventions which based on overall views it is deemed necessary to perform.

It seems evident that the new forms of co-operation and management lead to questions about a changed content in the *courses of education*. This is not only a matter of an increased effort to bring the educationally neglected groups up on a better level, but more generally of giving the qualification requirements in the working life a broader content. Further, increased knowledge about the connection between that which goes on at the individual person's place of work and in the entire society, is required.

Finally, we believe that a development with a continued democratization of the management processes, a rise in the general level of education and a greater emphasis on demands for equality may create a new debate on the *distribution of the ownership of the production means* and of the profits of the firms. What ways the development will follow in this respect remain to be seen; there are numerous possibilities. However, the question is whether the development will be so fast that already within the next 15 years we will see so big changes in the structure of ownership as far as firms and production means are concerned that it decisively alters the terms under which the private undertakings as well as the entire national economy are controlled. These problems undoubtedly contain *potential conflicts* which from time to time may lead to an intensifying of economic and political ferment in society – which may delay the solution also of other reform tasks. We believe that the risks of conflicts will be reduced if the balance between capital investors, managers and the workers of the firms is altered for example through schemes on economic democracy.

Natural Resources

8. It is has been a fundamental aspect of industrialization and economic growth that consumption of energy and materials as well as inroads into the natural resources have increased rapidly, and this has led to big problems of pollution and thus a deterioration in the environment. This aspect of the economic development has attracted a rapidly increasing public interest in the 1960s, and for many it has created the basis for the notion that economic growth should be curbed or possibly stopped. Especially the oil crisis gave rise to self-examination and critical considerations as regards the uncontrolled technological development and also as regards the role played by the big group of "technocrats" in the control of the development in a number of areas.

We agree that there are some fundamental problems in this field which are shared in common by the industrialized countries and the developing countries, though their concrete character varies considerably from country to country.

The risk is, however, not so much that scarce natural resources "are used up" and sources of energy are depleted, etc. as the important problems of adaptation and readjustment which necessitates planning and co-ordinated control if serious crises are to be avoided.

One of the changes with which we must reckon is that *energy* and many *important raw materials become relatively more expensive*. This is in itself a strong incentive to try to lower the rate of increase in our consumption of these resources, but this self-regulating tendency, which the price mechanism entails, must undoubtedly be supplemented with a more determined control in a number of fields. Also because changes in prices do not come gradually, but often in sudden jerks that may create big problems of adaptation.

Such changes in the relative prices will affect the various countries and groups very differently and will therefore cause changes in the established balance of power between the countries and at the same time as a reaction give rise to efforts of retaining the previous positions of power.

In particular for Denmark which has to import almost all raw materials and most of its supply of energy, the increase in the price of raw materials and energy means that our terms of trade deteriorate, which weakens our possibilities of raising our standard of living.

Whether the necessary process of readjustment in the next 10 years takes a comparatively gradual course without trouble or we must go through some crises first, we take it for granted that the incessant economic progress we witnessed in the period from 1960 to 1973 was unique; the improvement in the material standard of living in Denmark will slow down in the 1990s, and the problems of employment will have a central position.

Economic Growth and Employment

9. This is by no means tantamount to "zero economic growth" – and especially not if this is taken to mean that it will be impossible to obtain and retain "full employment".

On the other hand, it is evident that it is not easy to abolish unemployment. The above considerations show that the aspect of the growth process which is attached to technological innovation and *increased efficiency* based on it will hardly get poorer conditions in future. However, the growth process may get another *content*. The efforts of increasing efficiency in the production as well as in the society as a whole have up to now particularly been aimed at enhancing the productivity and thus make it possible to economize on labour, which means that the labour force employed can get a higher pay.

We believe that in future it will prove to be ever more expedient to orientate the technological innovation towards implementing a given production with less consumption of energy and raw materials and perhaps also less application of capital. At the same time the demands for better working environments with less strenous work and fewer risks of accidents and occupational diseases will be made with increasing strength.

Improved efficiency in a number of energy applications is one probable way to limit the consumption of natural resources, reduction in waste of materials is another. Recycling of used industrial products and reprocessing of waste products are other examples in this direction. Such new methods may also have an employment promoting effect together with savings in foreign exchange – which, however, does not mean that we shall aim at recycling at any price, but on changed methods of production and applications which based on an overall evaluation of the social effects are expedient.

The present industrial culture is often

called a "throw-away-culture" where the interest in the durability of goods, their maintenance and repair has receded into the background. This was in line with the producers' interest in increased sales supported by advertising and sales promotion, sometimes under slogans such as "wear something new". It fitted economically into the whole structure with relatively expensive labour and labour-saving mass-producing industrial plants.

If our attitude changes towards attaching greater emphasis on *extending the lifetime of the goods* and trying to reprocess wornout articles in some way, this may contribute considerably to the efforts of uniting a continued increase in our standard of living with a reduced consumption of energy and raw materials.

We are convinced that it is very strong forces that press on with increasing the material standard of living. The inequalities in the standard of living are so great that they cannot be accepted, and a greater degree of equality – in the individual countries as well as between the countries – is politically easier to accomplish by raising the level for those who are badly off, that is to say by a higher average of living. To this should be added that the wishes for increased welfare and quality of life – in particular personal security, social security, better working environment, healthier dwellings, etc. – can be fulfilled more easily when the material basis is secured.

In principle, full employment can probably be established and maintained by rapid growth in efficiency as well as by a slower growth. In the last case it is required, however, that the increase in real wages is adjusted, that is to say curbed, which will undoubtedly be difficult to accept with the lack of solidarity present in the social structure. In the first case, there will be a basis for increased real wages, but not to the same degree in all parts of the production, and it will be necessary to make some readjustments on the labour market which will also meet with opposition.

Therefore we must also reckon with the possibility that the development leads to crises and recessions. This risk of a discontinuance in the economic progress and a failure to maintain the high rate of employment does not stem from the technological development per se, but from the social problems of adaptation and readjustment following in its wake which make huge demands on the political management. Failing supreme control of our economy may result in a situation where the physical and technological possibilities of progress are not utilized. If we do not succeed in warding off the risks of crises which are clearly inherent in the present economic system, the total result over a long period may be a slower rate of growth – perhaps no growth and considerable unemployment.

Structure in Trade and Industry and Labour Market

10. The next question is then what kinds of jobs people will have if jobs are created for everybody. It is also a question of great interest for the planning of the educational system – though its importance is perhaps often exaggerated.

Especially in these years with a high rate of unemployment it seems to many people that insurmountable difficulties are attached to ensuring a job for everybody since technology continues to provide new short-cuts in the production. It has been like this time after time during the industrial development; already the uddites felt this pessimism. However, it is certain that we cannot expect that the necessary adjustment will take place by itself. The technology creates possibilities, but also problems which cannot be solved within the framework of the technology.

Precisely because the technological development is so dynamic it is unreasonable to require that we shall be able to predict today where in our economy the great number of new jobs will be in the 1990s. No one could have predicted 20 years ago that the electronic data processing line in 1977 would employ more than 20,000 persons in Denmark. The same applies to a number of other typical areas of expansion, for example air transport which now employs around 15,000 men and women, the television line and production of plastic articles, etc. The export industries, which now form the principal basis for the Danish industry, were practically non-existent 25 years ago. Measured in volume (at constant prices) Danish industrial exports more than 10-doubled during those 25 years.

We think, however, that we can point out some pronounced tendencies which we believe will continue for a long time and which will therefore also characterize the structure of trade and industry in the 1990s.

As far as the production of *foods, stimulants and refreshments* are concerned we take it for granted that the trend of moving labour from agriculture, horticulture and the fishing industry to the food industries, etc. will continue. *The depletion in the labour force of agriculture* must, however, for good reasons slow down, but it will continue and at the same time the qualification requirements are intensified. On the other hand, it should be possible to increase substantially employment openings in the processing and marketing trades for foods, etc. because the international markets are immensely big compared to the Danish production. It is, however, an area with sharp competition from supplier countries having relatively low costs.

Building and construction experienced in the 1960s a very rapid improvement, and employment went up especially owing to the housing construction. In this field there has been a decided turn in recent years, partly because the need for increasing the stock of houses will decrease to some extent in relation to the need in the 1960s and also because of the implementation of a strong rationalization in building and construction. Any additional growth in the total employment in these areas is therefore unlikely, rather we must reckon with a decline, but perhaps with a shift in emphasis towards more qualification requiring rebuilding and maintenance work and operation of complicated machines.

The biggest rise in employment in the 1960s took place within *the public service institutions*. During the last couple of years an effective check has been put on this sector, and though we do not believe that the growth in the public services has been stopped, the growth will in the long term take place at a very moderate rate one reason being the political difficulties in ensuring the necessary financing through direct and indirect taxes.

An effect of this may be that parts of the service which the population wants in these areas will be effected in other ways than in public institutions.

Also within a number of *private service trades* the 1960s saw an explosive rise in employment, especially within the money market where the labour force increased by 5 per cent annually, or more or less at the same rate as public personel. This sector, too, has witnessed a turning point in the early 1970s, and banks and savings banks are now concentrating their efforts on gradually reducing their total staff. This is achieved, however, by partially transferring work to the electronic data processing line, but only partially.

Within a number of other *commercial and service trades* the wave of rationalization began early as the beginning of the 1960s, in particular in the retail trade with the up-shoot of self-service stores and supermarkets, etc. An increased degree of self-service based on ready-made and prepacked articles is characteristic of a large number of previously very labour-intensive trades – however, partly supplemented with new forms of service in specialized shops, small restaurants, etc. The general impression is that the process of industrialization will continue to make heavy inroads into a number of service fields. Carriage of goods and delivery of goods are important examples. On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that the consumers will react against the development, and that the demand for improved finished articles will increase.

In a sense it is natural to ask the question whether *industry* – where the employment has been stagnating since 1965 – can really continue to create the necessary members of new jobs. If by 'industry' we merely think of the specific section of Danish enterprises which in statistical surveys are registered as industries and which comprise about 400,000 jobs, the question is hardly fruitful. However, great interest is attached to the development in the very comprehensive and heterogeneous number of enterprises which employ "industrial methods" in the manufacture and sales of articles and services, and in which a considerable part of the future new industrial jobs will presumably be created. The parts of these enterprises which will enjoy the biggest expansion will also depend upon the consumers' wishes.

It is of course quite decisive for the evaluation of the total employment openings that a substantial portion of the expansion is to be based on *exports* or foreign exchange earnings in keen competition with new industries in the developing countries which have cheap labour. If our competitiveness can be strengthened in a sufficient degree – which makes huges demands on the economic policy – there will be very good possibilities of expansion.

It is not possible to make any precise estimate as to where the possibilities of expansion will appear, whether it will be in this line or in that line because the export markets open up so many and probably also changing opportunities. Therefore it is also impossible to specify the *vocational* courses of education in a traditional sense on which it will be relevant to concentrate our educational efforts. However, the tendencies outlined above concerning the *rough structure* in the development within trade and industry will be important for the considerations as regards the dimensioning of various parts of the educational system.

However, it is of particular importance for the educational planning that we must expect a requirement for a shift in the balance between the various educational levels. The type of enterprises which in all probability will become successful may be characterized in *that* it requires knowledge intensive, *that* it is very flexible concerning market orientation as well as selection of products, and *that* it is therefore based on an all-round knowledge and know-how as regards production, marketing, financing and management. To a high degree it will probably be comparatively small and medium-sized enterprises with nonbureaucratic managements and with managers having a broad educational background which can live up to these demands. This will not only make it possible to adapt the production to a greater extent,, but also to follow up quickly changes in the conditions of marketing. This type of enterprises will also create a better basis for a humanization of the working life, a dimension to which greater emphasis will undoubtedly be attached. The medium-sized enterprises give a greater scope for the activities of individuals and for combining a number of valuable capabilities and skills of individuals which are important in the competition with the big countries – or as participants in common projects and as subsuppliers.

An additional, important factor is the expanded *trade with the developing countries* which in spite of huge economic and social obstacles experience a rapid industrialization and a rise in the standard of living at any rate for very considerable layers in the population. In many fields the developing countries will therefore manifest themselves strongly in or take over areas of production which till now have been reserved for the industrilized countries. They will especially do well in the areas where comparatively unqualified and low-paid labour can be employed, i.e. where the processes are relatively uncomplicated, such as the textile industry and parts of the electronic industry as well as mining and heavy industry.

This means in turn that the industrialized countries must hold their own by specializing in an increasing degree in the areas requiring highly qualified labour. We must expect that capital will become scarce in the world as a whole, which means that capital becomes relatively more expensive than up to now, and for this reason the industrialized countries must show restraint in the application of capital and instead stake more on the advantages entailed by the application of highly qualified labour.

Especially as regards Denmark, which till now has done well in many fields precisely owing to the qualifications of the labour force, we must expect that we must place even more weight on *knowledge-intensive productions* with a low content of raw materials. Denmark must concentrate its efforts in the so-called niches of production based on special talents, in particularly originality or special knowledge and skills. 'Software' industries will become more important than 'hardware' industries. A high general educational level is probably the decisive basis for this.

The contrast of this will be a continuation of the trend which for a long time has been observed and which especially has had the consequence that the poorly paid personal services have been on the down-grade. This applies to domestic service, delivery of goods, personal services in trade and in transport, etc., as well as a number of watch and supervisory functions.

The development will probably entail that these less qualified jobs will become less important as occupations. Two considerable factors point towards this: Firstly, the continued changes in the structure in the working life where machinery or other techniques can take over the work, will cause a drop. Secondly, it will in itself affect the structure of the labour market that more and more young people stay on longer at school, since it was first and foremost the young people without any vocational education who performed the above-mentioned work.

Also the development in relative prices will presumably put a damper on the demand for these services. As they are highly attached to personal efforts it is not possible to reduce the costs through labour-saving investments. With a rising wage level the services become relatively more expensive. This leads to a tendency towards reducing the standard requirements and towards refraining from hiring labour to do such jobs.

To the extent that an ever more complicated technique is used the demands on management and workers increase and in line with this the needs for more qualified courses of education in trades and industries.

This perspective in the development within trade and industry has far-reaching *consequences for educational policy*. An increased educational effort is required if Danish enterprises are to manifest themselve in the keen international competition. However, the educational structure must be changed in relation to the tendencies which were very characteristic of the 1960s. In future, it will not be necessary to increase constantly the traditional university courses aiming at appointwents within the public sector, administration, health service, education and research as well as legal system.

On the other hand, there will be a great need for developing a wider spectrum of courses having a new content or at any rate new combination of known elements especially aiming at appointments within trade and industry, including new vocational fields.

In terms of content, the development seems to be in a direction towards a system of broader basic courses supplemented with a superstructure of highly differentiated content and of a varying duration and degree of difficulty. A great element of practical vocational guidance as regards general as well as specific vocational qualifications will be characteristic of these courses.

In terms of level they will be distributed over the entire field from the 9th school year and up to 20 consecutive years of education. To this should be added a many-sided offer of later adult education and supplementary training.

These considerations may with perfect justice be turned the other way round: If the educational system does not contribute its share towards importing to the population the necessary qualifications – with the young as well as the adult year groups – it will become difficult to utilize the export openings available and thus retain a high and rising standard of living.

Working Hours and Leisure-Time

11. The development towards reduced working hours has been going on ever since the beginning of industrialism. Since the 48-hour working week was introduced in 1919 the typical annual working hours for a full-time employed worker have been reduced from about 2,450 hours to about 1,880 hours or by about an average of almost 10 hours per year.

Seen from the family's point of view the picture is, however, more varied. The number of married women who have entered the labour market has increased rapidly, especially in the 1960s and in the early 1970s, and the leisure-time they have at their disposal in the homes has thus been reduced considerably. Now there are many married couples where both the husband and the wife are employed full-time on the labour market, and the total number of hours they have at their disposal for activities in their homes has declined and the leisure-time life has become more strained than previously.

It is certain that there will be a strong pressure for increased access to *part-time work* and for arrangements with more *flexible* working hours and altogether increased possibilities of *individualized* arrangements.

The members of the debate group agree that the individual working hours will become somewhat shorter in the 1990s than now, but there is no consensus of opinion as to the pace at which this development will take place. This will undoubtedly depend upon whether the shorter working hours can still be obtained without a reduction in real income. This again depends upon the overall economic development.

The majority in the group finds that we must expect that both the standard weekly working hours become shorter and that more people will work part-time and also that the holidays will be extended. Thus, leisure-time becomes more important for people, and at the same time there is every reason to believe that the nature of leisure-time will change.

Part of the leisure-time will be used for preparations for the working hours or for transport to and from the place of work, and thus it cannot be employed entirely for private pursuits. Some adult education – including supplementary training and reschooling – will also take up part of the leisure-time. It has also been stated that part of the leisure-time must be employed for participation in community life, for example in the form of participation in association life (activities in associations, such as sports ass., parent's ass. in schools, etc.) in various discussions concerning local politics, etc. And finally it has been pointed out that shorter working hours are not always possible in the creative jobs or for managers and executives, etc.

It is certain, however, that *holiday life* with travels or outdoor activities will become more important for most people, and it is possible that this will affect the *family pattern*. We believe that the nuclear family will continue to be the dominating form; even though new forms of communes should gain ground, it will nevertheless be a minority, and the increased leisure-time activities may give family life a new content.

In all circumstances more time will be available which for example may be used for nursing children, the sick and old in the family. Some of these tasks will perhaps be attended to in an expanded community between neighbours.

The leisure-time will give new possibilities of creative activities for the individual, of reading, listening to and playing music, sports activities, etc.

For many people part of the leisure-time will be taken up by the activities which cannot be attended to by services from people outside the family. To an increasing degree it is necessary that the house-owner himself makes repairs, attends to the maintenance, etc. concerning his house, the flat, etc. This is in line with the above-mentioned trend away from the commercially conditioned 'wear-something-new' and 'throw-away' culture, and will support the above efforts of resource-savings by for example better maintenance and by recycling. More and more of our time is spent on do-it-yourself-activities having a practical slant.

In terms of education this demands for example that one knows how to handle a tool and has has a number of practical skills. This is necessary for the reason stated above and is also an important aspect in the life of many people. It creates a basis for fulfilling creative skills or just for physical activities which in itself may contribute towards making life more meaningful.

We have discussed whether the reduced working hours should be used as the basis for earlier retirement or expanded early retirement schemes. To this we would say that it is more satisfactory to be active in employment as long as possible. However, the society has been organized in a manner which is not particularly helpful in promoting activities for the older citizens or other groups who had a weak position on the labour market. This applies to the rigid job patterns and the rigid systems of pay which inter alia have been consolidated through the influence of labour and management. We must expect an increased interest in the possibilities of softening the structures so that for example older workers may continue in their jobs, but with reduced working hours and at a slower pace and with special tasks which are adjusted to their capabilities and temperament.

The Family and the Housing Environment

12. As mentioned, family life will get new conditions with shorter and more flexible working hours. We abstain from making any evaluations of the degree to which the traditional pattern of sex roles will be changed, but the trend seems also in the longer term to be towards greater equality. This trend can, if desired, be deliberately promoted through teaching.

Family life and home life and thus the frames for the children's years of growth are strongly tied to the pattern of the residential area to perform. The type of building and conurbation which followed in the wake of industrialization have made life poorer in impressions and experiences. Sterile dwellings and housing environments are a contributory cause for a number of the social problems of our time. It has been attempted to mitigate the worst consequences of the conurbation and the parent's places of work far away from the homes by establishing a great number of public institutions with professional nursing staff, which among other things serve as a place for nursing and entertaining children and young people. Whether this has led to a new cultural pattern with a satisfactory substitute for the lack of family life remains to be seen. The question of changed residential areas is, however, certainly one of the wishes for the future which must occupy a predominant place in the picture.

The great possibilities which the comprehensive building activities in the 1960s opened up, have only been partially utilized. In future these possibilities will be limited because the need for increasing the stock of houses with the prospects of a stagnating population will be heavily reduced in relation to the building of houses in the 1960s. The higher prices for energy will at the same time pull in a direction towards smaller houses and also counteract current tendencies of providing more free space in built-up areas.

For house-building industries this means smaller investments and decline in employment, and at the same time *the possibilities of renewing the housing environments will deteriorate*. It must therefore be attempted to consider the strong wishes for housing environments which to a greater extent provide facilities for children and for leiture-time activities, when renewal and slum clearance policies are to be implemented in existing residential quarters; by this we not only understand the older quarters with tenement houses, but also many more recently built quarters which are undersupplied with common facilities and areas close by for leisure-time activities.

Means of Communication

13. The means of communications have experienced revolutionary technological innovations during the past 20 to 30 years. In this field there is still a rapid development of the techniques employed now as well as in new directions.

While it took centuries before the art of printing penetrated as the broad popular medium for communicating knowledge and news, film, grammophone, radio and television have in the course of only a few decades reached all remote places in the country and all layers of the population and have acquired huge importance as carriers of cultural events as well as of new knowledge and current information.

Especially TV has in the past 10 years got a quite central position both as a national and international unifying medium. Acting at the same time as a news communicating, knowledge communicating, entertaining and opinion-forming medium TV has become a factor of paramount importance in society. It may be decisive for the future development also as far as the *political* development is concerned. TV and radio have already left a profound trace in the political debate and have led to increase political interest and to greater mobility in the electorate. The risk of abuse of TV for political control and manipulation has increased simultaneously.

Combined with the telecommunications network and the methods of electronic data processing and electronic storage of picture and sound quite new possibilities of application open up which do not restrict the consumer to the few national or regional TV broadcasts, but give the individual family, enterprise, school, etc. a free choice between an enormously large number of offers, and at a relatively low payment it is possible to tap the system for the specific material one wishes to utilize.

The further consequences of this for teaching and education – in particular for adults – are not settled, far from it, but we are convinced that this gives possibilities which used in the right manner may give the future educational policy a greater scope and effectiveness. At the same time, there are, as mentioned, great risks which make it desirable that the individual is equipped with a critical sense, and which at the same time make it necessary to pursue a specific policy and to obtain possibilities of control for the entire area.

Properly speaking it is remarkable that even in the countries where radio and TV are run as state monopolies they have got a considerable independence in relation to the usual politically controlled sources of information. Admittedly, the "Folketing" or the political parties supervise the management of TV and radio, but they have no practical possibility of controlling or just influencing the individual broadcasts. The 'democratic control' acts especially by the alertness with which the press and the public follow and some times criticize the broadcasts. If TV and radio are taken out of the "public sector" there will be no such possibilities of control.

Process of Democratization

14. Under the discussion of economic we have mentioned the tendencies towards increased interest on the part of the workers in information and in participation in the management of the enterprises.

This is just a single result of a far wider tendency which must in particular be attributed to the increase in the general educational level and perhaps even more to the development just mentioned in respect of the mass media communication. It seems to be a very strong tendency in our time that more and more people have a say in the decision making process. This leads in an increasing degree to wishes from individual groups for having a substantial influence on decisions which not only concern them alone, but also affect other fields of interest, and where they must therefore comply with majority decisions at a higher level. In a society with so many partly conflicting views and interests as that of today, it is often necessary for the individual or for small groups to accept decisions which they feel to be unjust and which in some cases are directly unpleasant. This requires knowledge about the functioning of society and the political decision making processes, a knowledge which also the school must communicate. This also presupposes training in the social technique it is to participate in democratic decision making processes and it also requires a positive attitude to society for which the school cannot disclaim a co-responsibility.

Strong ferments between wishes for decentralized management and grass-roots democracy on one hand and a more firm line in the central political government on the other have been characteristic of the political debate in the past 10 years in a number of countries. In Denmark this has resulted in a number of profound structural reforms in the political form of government and in the public administration. It is especially the balance between the state, the counties, the municipalities and the local communities which in a number of respects have been completely changed through the municipal reforms with changed distribution of tasks and reorganization of the distribution of burdens and by the transition to taxation at the source, the social reform and the transition to new budgetary systems, etc.

The whole shoal of reforms have been characterized by strong ferments between several different considerations, but a strong, positive interest in decentralization has, however, been a dominating feature. The state has surrendered tasks and responsibility to the counties and to the municipalities, and in some respects the counties have surrendered powers to the municipalities. But at the same time there have been trends in the opposite direction: Some municipal tasks have been delegated to the new counties, and the most important feature is perhaps that the local communities have been absorbed by the bigger municipal units so that the previous grass-roots democracy in the small municipalities especially in the country has been replaced by bigger and more bureaucratized units. The wishes for a more effective economic administration have been an import consideration which has led to a disregard of the wishes for spreading responsibility.

Several of the implemented structural reforms, which are all within the limits of the representative democracy based on nation-wide political parties, are therefore often felt to deteriorate one's influence and to enhance the distance to those who decide one's affairs.

Concurrently with this attempts have been made to fulfil the strong wishes for better information from the state to the citizens and for improved access for the local population to state their views in important matters which immediately concern the local areas. This tendency has especially manifested itself in the planning acts, in the environmental policy and in the parental participation in decision-making in the primary and lower secondary school.

A specific feature has been the apparently reinforced tendencies and wishes from small groups in the population for *direct participation*, and tendencies of acting against elected leaders and representative bodies and adopted rules for negotiations and influence on public decisions.

A characteristic feature in the opposite direction has been the strong *concentration within the daily press*, especially (we presume) as a consequence of competition from radio and television, but also of changed cost structures. 'The death of newspapers' appears to have weakened the possibilities of locals to express their attitudes and specific interests. To neutralize this there has been a conspicuous trend towards counteracting the onesidedness of the newspapers through debate columns, letters to the editor, opinion polls, etc.

Critical voices are heard from many groups about the alienation in relations between authorities and citizen and about the tendencies of more disciplination of and less influence to the population. We have discussed whether the current development is towards more and more public rules and regulations for the activities of individuals, groups and enterprises and a stricter control of their obeyance.

It is no problem to find examples of new restrictions on production (positive-lists have been mentioned) and on the households (rules on building and town planning provisions, more complicated tax rules, etc.). Further, there are examples of strong public measures against demonstrating or activists' groups.

It is a question, however, how far these examples justify generalizations in the direction mentioned above. There are many concurrent features in the development. Thus, in recent years there has been a clear decriminalization in areas which were previously subject to strong restrictions. Respect for authorities has declined considerably, and the actual possibilities of expressing critical views at the proper places have been improved. There has been a conspicuous "democratization" of social conventions in the enterprises as well as in the public debate, and there are especielly widespread and strong tendencies towards greater openness and more ample information from public authorities as well as from private managements to the groups concerned (workers).

There are many signs of increased readiness to listen to manifestations from the workers and to increase the influence of workers, students, pupils, tenants' groups, etc. – but demands from the man on the floor for information and influence have also been intensified – an perhaps even more than the readiness to satisfy them. Put in another way, it seems that there is an increased consciousness in the population that general social considerations and common interests do not necessarily coincide with the interests of those who are well-off. It appears evident that the general increase in the educational level has contributed to this state, and the rising importance of the mass media has speed up the development.

This development will probably continue. We find it desirable that the distance to the 'leaders' should be diminished and also that the élite in all fields should be decreased – but this will hardly come by naturally, but the school and the educational system have good oppotunities of assisting towards reaching these aims.

The debate on the conditions of democracy and the possibilities of the population of expressing their views has so far been greatly centred on the organizational limits and formal rules of the political system and reforms in it. We find that the question of the common basis of values on which the political system must build is far more important. It is an important, fundamental feature in our democracy that disagreement is allowed. The Danish society like the other western industrialized countries is characterized by profound disagreement in the concept of values, perhaps due to the unequal distribution of the material and non-material goods in the society. If representative democracy is to function, it also requires some loyalty to the society and its political government without this being tantamount to an acceptance of everything in society.

Especially in these respects the educational system occupies a very important position. *The school* as a socializing factor is one aspect of this; the school as a communicator of knowledge about the society and of insight and practicing in the democratic steering processes is another aspect.

The general educational level is of course also of great importance in the light of the tendencies of and wishes for considerably enhanced communication of information from the public authorities to the population in future. The very fact that the population gets a better general education, and in this respect the extension of the lower secondary school to 9 school years is of course important, creates a new basis for such communication which in turn prepares the ground for influence in a number of affairs.

A World full of Conflicts

15. The discussion of development tendencies and possibilities has confirmed the assumption which was made in the beginning, viz. that it is impossible to predict with any certainty what the society of the 1990s will be like. Quite unforeseen events may occur which change the development. The population fails to agree on the fundamental values and aims, and the government and the 'Folketing' do not have the means for a determined control of the development in our society no matter whether one thinks of technology or economic distribution, or political or cultural currents.

Opposite views and interests manifest themselves in a number of respects, some times in open conflict, often merely as tensions and sluggishness.

The contrasts often appear internationally between poor and rich countries, between east and west and between the industrialized countries. And they leave their mark on the conditions in each individual country. The unequal distribution of material and non-material goods is the strongest of all sources of social tensions and showdowns. It is not only a matter of ownership of material values, but of unequal conditions at the place of work and unequal possibilities of making use of cultural offers.

The society of the future will therefore be characterized by the same lack of stability and stable growth as the past and contemporary society.

If the contrasts result in real crises and if worst comes to worst in wars it may set the development many years back. This applies of course directly to the economic basis, but a deterioration of this may also lead to a rougher political climate with more confrontations, less tolerance and less freedom for individuals and groups for developing themselves. In particular the young and weak in society may be badly offected by this.

The school and other parts of the educational system are assential because their role is to prepare adults and young people to live in the society as it is. The instruction must be so down-to-earth and realistic that the transition from the school to 'the real world' does not come as a shock, but is must not give up its possibilities of giving the next generation of young people a better start than their parents. The first prerequiste of conquering problems is to know their nature, and old ideals of human warmth and openness, of greater equality, of personal security, of tolerance towards others and the necessity of solving tasks jointly still hold good. Understanding that this also requires capability and will to accept the terms of the community, even if it curbs the individual freedom of movement, is part of the basic attitudes which the school must contribute its share to strengthen.

The Central Council of Education
The debating group concerning
the society of 1990s.

Subannex 1

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Subannex 2

May 24, 19

Dear Erik Ib Schmidt,

Thank you for the revised draft of May 5. My answer is a bit over-due because of preparations for a trip to Tanzania.

Compared with the previous drafts there are many changes, and in my opinion most of them clearly improve the contents. The reason why I nevertheless cannot accept the report is that it does not define clearly enough the decisive dividing lines in attitudes to the future development. This means that the role of the school as an institution for ironing out differences and adapting the pupils for working life is stressed very strongly in a misapprehended notion of democratic tolerance. Tolerance makes only sense in connection with a capability of taking up a position, choosing sides in conflicts, otherwise an accentuation of concepts such as community, etc. will cover the big differences that characterize our society.

In my opinion very substantial changes should be made in Danish politics to achieve the aims of the social development which I want. The report does not emphasize this necessity of fundamental changes, but is an expression of the view that it will be feasible to solve the problems in a reasonable manner. In spite of the changes which have taken place I find that the report is still – and this is implied in the way it has come into existence – an expression of the attitude that the problems may be solved by the enlightened élite. As a matter of fact, this is – though perhaps not intended – a depreciation of the political work as expressed by the various parties' attitudes to the long term problems. Compared with for example The Social Democratic Party's draft of a new platform the report has become the document of minimum changes.

In addition to these general remarks I would like to draw your attention to my disagreement in two specific respects:

Among the few educational political propositions set forth in the report – by and large in accordance with the current dominating views in the top of the educational system – there is an accentuation of the need for a strengthening of the practical vocational guidance in the educational system at the expense of what is termed 'the traditional university courses'. While I concur in the continued efforts of adapting the courses of education to real life, including the working life in a wide sense, I find that already the previous experience indicates that it is urgently required to counteract the tendency that new or amended courses of education become dominated by narrow labour market or employer interests contrary to the social interests of developing independent and thus critical properties in the courses. In a period of comprehensive youth unemployment which in itself has a 'disciplinary effect' this is a particularly important educational political principle.

The second point relates to the public efforts in the social area. The report comprises a number of unfounded assertions about the family's possibilities of taking over functions of care from the public, probably also in order to comply with the present widespread wish for reductions in taxation (which means a strengthening of the consumption supplied from the private sector). I do not agree in this. In a situation where the social sector has become the object of wishes for cuts and where it is subjected to such a strong pressure of work that it has come into serious difficulties I find it necessary to point out the necessity of strengthening public efforts in the social area, in the certain knowledge that this, in particular if the preventive work is enhanced, will involve increased costs for some time.

This means that I must be classified as belonging to group 4.

Finally I would say that it has been a pleasure to participate in the discussions on the well-prepared drafts.

Yours sincerely,

sign. *Knud Erik Svendsen.*
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Subannex 3

The Chairman of the Central Council
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Mr. Erik Ib Schmidt,
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The report from the debate group: the society of the 1990s

Dear Erik Ib Schmidt,

Owing to a travel abroad it has unfortunately been impossible for us to obtain contact over the phone concerning the previously mentioned passage in the above report.

The result of my considerations is that while in general I can accept the report in its present shape I must dissociate myself from the remark in the report relating to schemes of economic democracy.

The cause for my dissociation is first and foremost that by economic democracy we generally understand a scheme based on the principles of collective ownership embodied in a proposal for economic democracy previously submitted.

That I dissociate myself from the formulation of the report does not mean that I do not find that a spreading of ownership on a voluntary basis as a personal ownership for the individual worker is important in the connection described in the report.

Yours sincerely,
sign. *Hans Øhrstrøm.*

Subannex 4.

Mr. Martin Jespersen, who did not attend the last meeting of the groups, has later stated that he does not accept the main content of the report.

Appendix 6

Erik Jørgen Hansen
Else Marie Sejer Larsen:

Basis for an Estimate of the Future of the Danish Society

I. Introduction

The following account forms part of the work carried out by the CCE to establish the basic plans for the so-called U-90. The proposal for an educational policy, which the U-90 is to result in, must be based partly on a thorough and critical analysis of the present educational system and its dependence on the social conditions of today, partly on the basis of ideas of what future may have in store for the Danish society and the inhabitants. In the following pages we shall try to establish the basis for such ideas. We find it important to stress that the trends may follow several paths, some of which we regard as most unfortunate. In this – and in most other – respects our account must be taken as an alternative or a strong corrective to the account on the same subject, which a debating group, set up in connection with the CCE, gave earlier in the year.[1])

We regard the basic attitude of the above account as an expression of a conception of a harmonious society with an educational system adapted to the social conditions as a consequence. In contrast to this we think that the social development can only be described in a reasonable way from a conflict-oriented point of view.

The time horizon for the following considerations is app. the year 2000. This means that we shall discuss essential and dangerous trends in society, also even if they may not be expected to manifest themselves before 1990, when the U-90 is intended to be fully implemented. The children and young people who will get their education in the course of the 1980s and 90s, have to live, work, and change our society a long way into the next century. Therefore, they must, even in the 1980s and 90s, get an education whose content and attitude have also taken into consideration the undesirable tendencies which may not materialize until much later.

Any picture of a society – be it present, past or future – has been drawn by means of a selection of numerous observations, which are available, and a scientific systematization of these observations on the basis of some – among several possible – selected models. It is therefore necessary, very briefly, to point out that our starting point for selecting the observations is the conception that the aim of our society is a community without economic and social inequalities and without violence and fear, in which the individual human being participates in an active and creative way on the basis of sufficient material and spiritual ressources.

In our deliberations of how things will develop as regards the above respects throughout the rest of this century, we shall take our starting point in the Dane's situation within the last quarter of a century. Furthermore, we want to look at what has determined development and who have directed it. On the basis of this we want to try to point out elements of both pessimistic and optimistic future developments, but especially the former.

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[1]) The Debating Group: The Society of the 90s: An Account as a Basis for Considerations Concerning the Education Policy of the Future. June 10, 1977, CCE-Appendix 152.

II. The Situation of the Dane today and in the Immediate Past

This section is to a great extent based on Søren Geckler and Erik Jørgen Hansen: *The Development in the Distribution of the Standard of Living in Denmark*. Bulletin 9, 1976. The Danish National Institute of Social Research.

If we take as our starting point the economic conditions, it must be ascertained that total consumption per capita has more than doubled since the last war. Increase in consumption in the public sector has been especially steep, at any rate within public health, education and social services. Private consumption has also increased heavily, although not quite as violently, and besides it did not show the same rate of increase within all commodity groups. A clear indication of the increase in affluence has been that the private consumption of consumer durables, as e.g. cars, TV-sets and kitchen hardware has shown the highest rate of increase.

The distribution of consumption on the different population groups has not been sufficiently elucidated yet. We must contend ourselves with taking a look at the distribution of incomes, even the taxable ones, which is of course, an economic measure with great weaknesses. The tendency towards a certain levelling out of incomes, which we experienced from 1939 to 1949, has since then almost stopped. The rather small redistribution, which all the same did take place since then, has been from the wealthiest tenth to the medium-sized incomes. The tenth who have the lowest incomes, had to manage on about 1.5 % of total incomes throughout the whole period since the end of the 1940s. That there is a connection between income and consumption is a matter of course. We have in fact figures from the beginning of the 1970s, which show that the higher incomes the households get, the more likely they are to own their own house, and the more expensive the house is. The same connection applies to the previously mentioned consumer durables.

Income is only a means – although the most important one – to secure a tolerable standard of living. It is of course of vital importance what the income can buy you and the trouble it is to get it. If, in this section, we concentrate on conditions that can be illustrated statistically, we can say something about public health, working condition, housing, education, and leisure time.

Public health of the Danes can so far only be illustrated indirectly, i.e. through the trends of the death rate and life expectancy. By this measure health conditions have been improved since the last war. This applies to a higher extent to women than to men, more to the young than to the old, and more to the beginning of the period than to the last few years. It is also worth noting that as regards men the statistics of the causes of death show a sharp rise in heart diseases and malignant tumours. Finally it should be mentioned that a study of the diseases in the different population groups shows a frequency above the average among the economically weakest and hardest working groups.

When looking at the employment situation of the population there are at least 3 characteristic trends within the last 30 years. First, the longer time of education of the young has meant an increase in the average age when entering the labour market. Secondly, the percentage of women working outside their homes rose sharply, from 11 % in 1940 to 46 % in 1974. And thirdly, the unemployment rate has fluctuated between a high and a low level and has now ended at a very high level without any indication of improvement. A big share of this unemployment must be borne by the young with the subsequent long term effects of which we can now only guess.

The conditions under which work is carried out are anything but pleasant to far too many. Surveys of the working conditions of LO-members (members of the Danish Council of Trade Unions) shows that a considerable percentage of manual workers has been involved in industrial accidents, takes medicine regularly, is hampered by noise, high and low temperatures, dangerous substances, etc., staggered hours, too fast working pace, monotonous work, etc.

To this should be added that the reduction in the working hours, which has taken place, has been absorbed by longer transport between the place of work and the home and longer distances to the shopping precincts because of the concentration tendencies in the retail trade.

On the other hand the Danes have housing conditions which must be considered among the best in the world. However, only as long as we look at the average figures. In 1945 the number of rooms per capita was 0.97 and in 1970 it came to 1.28. A very big and heavily increasing part of all dwellings consists of one-family houses. The development of the quality of the houses has also been very favourable.

All the same, in 1970 one fourth of the population did not have a dwelling containing both central heating and w.c. and bath. And one fourth lived in overcrowded flats. These were mainly families with children so that 46 % of all children under 15 years in 1970 lived in flats with less than one room per head.

The recent increase in the number of students has not involved very many children from these particular houses. Now more than every fourth of all young people get an Upper Secondary School Leaving Examination or a Higher Preparatory Examination. This extension of Upper Secondary School education took place, however, at the expense of the training of apprentices or corresponding vocational training, which as a whole have decreased very much. At the same time, the percentage of the young who do not receive any further training after leaving Primary and Lower Secondary School – the so-called residual group – is still of the order of 25–30 %.

To this should be added that it is, of course, all social groups who have secured Upper Secondary School Education for a bigger number of their children, but those, who especially benefited from this tendency are, however, children from the upper social groups.

These social inequalities in the distribution of education are only to a very small extent evened out later on in life. Taken as a whole, adult education is mostly utilized by those who have already received the best training in school and thus as a rule belong to highly placed social groups.

We find the same social inequalities as regards the exploitation of most of the remaining offers in society of knowledge and culture, if culture is defined in a traditional narrow way, i.e. highbrow culture. The upper social groups have got the most books, go to libraries, art exhibitions, to the theatre and classical concerts more frequently, and also oftener read their daily papers. Among the surveyed spare time habits it is especially visits to cinemas and the reading of weekly papers and magazines which either shows no connection between social groups or shows a more frequent activity the lower placed the social groups are.

The above picture of the situation of the Danes is to a very high degree determined by the aspects of our living conditions which are fairly well covered by statistic or social surveys. Other aspects are not so well illustrated, but are equally important. This applies e.g. to pollution in the form of noise, dirt, and poison of different kinds, which surrounds us to an extent which is not exactly known, and which is unequally distributed among the

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high and low placed social groups, without our knowing exactly how big the differences are in this respect. The pollution of food is, presumeably, more equally distributed. For this reason it is not less alarming that the contents of our daily products are almost unknown – or at least the effects they may have – to the individual. However, with the difference that the better educated, who have the less stressing work, have the time and strength to be critical consumers.

To the extent the individual regards the above-mentioned trends in society as unfortunate, there are formal ways of trying to change them, but now much real power and influence does the individual have? We know very little about it. When it comes to the working conditions, the trends of the economic structure have clearly reduced the influence of large groups on their working conditions. We are especially referring to the decline in the number of sole traders and the increasing sizes of businesses within some trades. These trends are then to some extent counterbalanced by an increasing organization percentage among wage earners, from 54 % in 1940 to 74 % in 1970 and by the extension of the shop stewart service and the joint consultation committees.

To close this section we want to point out that the most illustrating existing indicators of the development of the situation of a country's population, presumeably are the *changes* of the situation of childhood and adolescence. Unfortunately we do not have Danish surveys, which illustrate this factor sufficiently. The sporadic surveys, which have been made, emphasise the lack of interest on the part of the politicians in the conditions of the children and the young. Until the report of the Danish Commission for Young Children and the future sociological surveys of the living conditions in Denmark are published, we must refer to Norwegian surveys[3]), whose results relatively easily can be transferred to Danish conditions. The results in question stem from the Norwegian Survey of Living Conditions, in which a representative selection of grown-ups were interviewed at the turn of the year 1973/74. The oldest ones were born before 1900 and the youngest in 1956. It appeared that the most significant changes in the conditions of the childhood and adolescence in the course of this century manifested themselves in connection with the children who had grown up in homes with more than 3 brothers and sisters. This was extremely common at the turn of the century, but is relatively rare now. Moreover, much fewer of the young had had economic problems in their homes. Fewer had lived only one place in their childhood, fewer had had a homebound mother, fewer had grown up in a rural district, fewer had experienced problems in connection with procuring sufficient food, more of the young had both their parents while they grew up, almost all of them had experienced illness of long duration in their homes, and several had seen great differences in their homes.

III. What has Determined the Development?

So far we have moved at the descriptive level. In order to arrive at ideas of the trends of the next quarter of the century, we must try to *explain* the development. The first condition must be to include all the basic processes in society which have determined the development as the basic structure of society – in the shape of a private capitalist society – has not been subject to many modifications.

In the period under review – the years since the last war – primary industries, agriculture, etc. have declined very much, the secondary industries, the manual and manufacturing industries have retained an almost stable percentage of employment, whereas the tertiary industries, distribution, communication and public services have improved strongly. At the same time – and more or less as a consequence – the number of sole traders have dropped heavily, the workers have formed a fairly constant percentage of those employed in trade and industry, while the number of employees have increased much. These changes in the occupational structure hardly caused any significant decline in the extent of routine and monotonous work. A considerable share of this work is now carried out in other trades than previously and to a certain degree by employees. Among many examples can be mentioned the growth in monotonous and hard work within the large retail trade and the communication sector.

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[3]) Cf. *The Survey of Living Conditions. Final Report.* Norway's Public Reviews. NOU 1976:28. Universitetsforlaget 1976.

This summary of changes in the economic and occupational structure of society touches upon a number of processes, which may be effective a long way into the future and therefore should be mentioned briefly here:

Firstly, *industrialization*, which is not so much a matter of the share of the industrial sector of total production, but, on the contrary, that a bigger part of production in all industries is mass production, by means of machinery, with a view to sale on a partly managed and demand manipulated market (cf. the systematic development of the marketing industry).

Secondly, *concentration*, which – although it has been less pronounced in Denmark than in our neighbouring countries – means that the small businesses disappear.

Thirdly, *specialization*, which means that more have working operations whose occupational scope has been narrowed very much compared with previously.

Fourthly, the *polarization in terms of qualifications*, which means that a much bigger share of firms now has a labour force, which covers the whole range from highly trained to unskilled workers.

Fifthly, *urbanization*, which means that a bigger part of the places of work – and consequently the dwellings – are placed in towns or rural districts, which are made into town-like districts.

Sixthly, *commercialization*, which means that an ever increasing share of what the individual citizen uses, is distributed via monopolized purchase and sale. The very often mentioned example of the increase in 'do-it-yourself-activities' is not in contradistinction to this. Trade in the necessary tools and materials for these activities is a florishing line of business.

Seventhly, *'the chemical revolution'*, which means that more and more of the articles we consume are artificial products whose more or less dangerous long-term effects are unknown to us, but whose pollution of our environment – soil, water, air – we have already now experienced.

And eightly, *bureaucratization*, which means that an increasing number of necessary decisions can only be made after having passed through several links of a mutually hierarchic order. And especially the bureaucratization process, by virtue of Denmark's EEC membership, is assuming proportions without parallel in any previous period of our history.

There are, as we shall see later on, tendencies in the opposite direction, but the above tendencies dominate. For the individual in society this results in a situation, which can be designated as *sectorization*. Work is sharply separated from leisure time, the dwelling from the place of work, one man's job clearly separated from that of his colleague, the products one man makes are only small units of a greater whole, which he himself cannot produce or grasp. What the individual himself can produce seems to be nothing in a greater context, and it is quite obscure who decide and why one has to do what one actually does. We could continue by giving many other examples of this sectorization tendency, which presumeably, among many other effects, is one of the causes of alienation of both children and grown-ups, big landslides at the generel elections and tendencies of meaningless violence – and at any rate one of the causes of our being directed by the forces which will be mentioned below.

IV. Who Have Directed the Development?

It is probably banal to ascertain that the above trends have not been acknowledged by the population in a normal democratic way. Trends have developed step by step as a result of very basic laws of development in global and national capitalism. But the different capitalistic systems do not develop in the same way. There are several paths of development of which some are more tolerable than others. The path which is actually 'chosen' is a result of a complex power game between trade and industry, organizations and the State. All this, however, within the limits set by the great powers on which we depend. The above direction model may of course in its brevity seem far too simple. To us, however, there is no doubt that the freedom – within certain limits – which Denmark has to develop independantly in a socialistic and democratic way, has not been exploited so far. One of the reasons is perhaps that Denmark has not been willing to pay the price in the shape of a somewhat lower growth rate in a traditional sense.

There have not been consistent attempts of counteracting industrialization, specialization, concentration, polarization in terms of qualifications, urbanization, commercialization, 'the chemical revolution' and the bureaucratization, they have rather been supported by the 'directing' institutions.

Who are they? Let us – at random – mention the multinational enterprises. Their importance is that they dominate the production and distribution of a number of key commodities, and at the same that they do not want to conform to the national policy of the individual countries. Thus they are powerful obstacles to a de-centralization policy, to public control with the industrial pollution and the implementation of industrial democracy.

Secondly there is reason to draw attention to the organisations – both the trade organisations and the labour market organisations. Although their political objectives differ – almost by definition – their increasing strength seems primarily to have resulted in a further cementation of some of the tendencies discussed in the previous section, especially the specialization, the qualification-polarization, and the bureaucratization, besides, which they have contributed to the freezing of social inequality.

Finally, there is the State, which as regards the safeguarding of the interests of the whole community vis-a-vis trade and industry and the organisations, seems to have shown a surprising lack of even the smallest measure of boldness. Like other sections of society the public sector seems to have been characterized by quantitative rather than by qualitative growth.

An important aspect of the mode of operation of the ruling institutions mentioned, is the new means of directing the development which have resulted from the latest revolution within dataprocessing and communications, namely, TV and the large computer-based registers. Irrespective of the positive sides of these technical tools, they can be used for manipulation and control. TV may – in a large-scale mass-educational project – make it possible to give the population information about and a qualified insight in national and global problems, but it may also, within the same framework, through the language and a set of rules, which is at least indirectly controlled by the ruling institutions, narrow and regiment the public conception of what the problems are and what solutions there are. Apart from the risk of abuse of registers, EDP has also facilitated a kind of general tutelage, this tendency having for instance manifested itself in the offers made by commercial and savings banks of undertaking practically full responsibility for the financial affairs of the individual.

V. Trends in the Opposite Direction

The above trends, deliberately described very negatively, need not, however, be our future. There are many tendencies in the opposite direction. Different kinds of inequalities are fought actively. Women's Liberation Movement has probably had the greatest success in this particular field. The dominating organisational powers seem to be opposed from below, although wild cat strikes are not the most fortunate way to do so. Destruction of our environment and natural ressources are combated by groups like NOAH (organisation of pollution combating groups), OOA (organisation to inform of nuclear power), etc. Gross deterioration of certain aspects of the living conditions are opposed on the part of the tenants. New ways of living are being experimented with in the group families.

VI. The Corporate Security State

Nevertheless it is necessary to say that the undesirable trends outlined on the previous pages may result in what may be called a corporate security state. The international pressure exercised via the multinational enterprises and the EEC may force us to continue a tendency towards a state guarantee of the maintenance of the present economic order. Attempts may be made to stabilize the subsequent social inequalities by the joining of forces on the part of organisations and the government to determine all aspects of the conditions of the population. Thus the word corporate. This may result in risks that the extra-parliamentarian environmental and ressource conscious groups as well as 'grass-root democracy' groups are criminalized and thus are deprived of their silent weapons. The result may be either a thorough suppression or the fact that some take up more desparate means of action. Pleading the maintenance of peace and security, the violence of the authorities will escalate and develop the security state.

An even stronger risk of the breaking through of the corporate tendencies will arise if the EEC, from its present level of relative indifferent, although quite dangerous, bureaucratic waste of ressources – clearly against the wishes of the majority of the Danish population – moves towards the supra-state phase.

VII. A Better Future

We hope that things will not be that bad. Therefore, in our proposal for an educational policy, we must be able to show that it may be able to contribute to the development of society in which influence and power are slowly distributed on wider circles, in which de-centralization is initiated, in which ressource consciousness is increasing, and in which the individual can protect himself against an all-embracing private and public supervision, and also fight the hidden manipulation and loss of spiritual freedom.

The superior aim of educational policy will thus be everybody's active participation in a change of society towards socialism.

Statement by the Minister of Education on the Report Prepared by the Central Council of Education: The U 90 Report

The report on Danish education which is now available to the Folketing and the general public was prepared with the aim of forming the basis of a debate on the educational policy of the coming years. In the report on our educational policy up to the 1990s the Central Council of Education (the CCE) has put forward a number of educational political ideas and proposals on the basis of an overall view; these are now to be debated and possibly later transformed into practical policy. Thus the report is an introduction which preferably should be followed up by a general debate and by political assessments and decisions.

The Objective of the Statement to the Folketing

The Government has found it desirable to give the Folketing a briefing on the U-90 report. We have never had such material at our disposal before, as previous planning in the educational field has either only dealt with part of the courses or been an element in a planning which is primarily economically oriented. Whether one takes a critical or commendatory attitude to the report it represents an attempt, not only at taking an overall view of Danish education, but also an assessment of its role in the development of society.

The Need for the U 90 Report

We have previously missed a survey of our entire educational system and an overall assessment of its problems. The individual courses should be seen as a whole and as having an interrelationship in relation to the lifelong education of the individual. In particular they should also be seen in connection with the development of society.

The value of a future-oriented report like the U-90 report consists in the fact that education is a question of covering the need for knowledge and ability far out in the future. Consequently the U-90 report lists prerequisites for the development of society up to the 1990s. In many respects we cannot anticipate this development but important features are probable. The amount of knowledge will in particular be increased and will result in demands on the various courses, for instance with regard to the choosing of teaching materials and educational methods. At the same time it is probable that the demands on the general knowledge held by the young and the older people about social conditions will increase.

Two trends seem to be prominent: on the one hand, the sum of knowledge and the need for specialization keep increasing – we frequently hear about vacancies which cannot be filled in spite of the high rate of unemployment, simply because the applicants lack the required special qualifications. On the other hand, general knowledge is to an increasing extent required. Much seems to indicate that if we do not do something about the problem, we might end up with a society in which 'A'-people have completed a long span of education – and are highly salaried specialists, whereas 'B'-people are routine workers who basically only need a short education. The Government intends to combat this classification of human beings, and will consequently make demands on education, especially for increased general information about society and culture. This problem is one of the main issues in the U-90 report.

The Central Council of Education – Majority and Minority Statements

In 1975 I requested the Central Council of Education to prepare a report on our entire educational system, seen in a perspective. The points of view expressed in the report are the responsibility of the Central Council of Education, and incidentally I would like to point out that the CCE was already established the first time I was appointed Minister.

Representatives of a broad section of public interests sit in the Council. It consists of 10 personally appointed members, including the chairman, 4 chairmen of the Sector Educational Councils, and 10 representatives of a wide range of organizations, including the main organizations from the labour market, and organizations representing teachers, pupils, and students.

Several of the personally appointed members were originally appointed by the former Ministers of Education, Mr. Knud Heinesen and Mrs. Tove Nielsen.

One of the reasons for the many minority statements in the report is the representation of different public interests. It can be no cause for wonder, either, as the U-90 report deals with the development of the entire educational system up to the 1990s. A large majority, consisting of personally appointed members as well as representatives of organizations, support however in general the main points of the report.

The Aim of the U 90 Report

The reason why I requested the CCE in 1975 to prepare the report was as mentioned a need for a comprehensive view and an assessment of our educational system seen in the light of the development of society. What do we want of education? How are we to keep abreast of the international development with regard to knowledge and ability? Is there a reasonable balance between the different courses, so that different groups in our community will have their educational requirements met, professionally as well as culturally? What resources should we earmark for the various educational sectors.

Over the last few years we have improved our educational planning, but in the course of the 1960s and in the early 1970s the individual educational areas have to a certain extent been expanded 'one by one' without an entirely satisfactory interrelationship, and perhaps also without satisfactory perspective.

Not least in the light of this does the Government consider the U-90 to be a valuable basis for the sustained work. But I would like to stress that this does not mean that the Government will just like that accept everything which the majority behind the U-90 report recommends. As it is, the U-90 report is first and foremost a basis for a continued debate and renewed work on a clarification of the problems. This work and the debate are not finished. They are to provide points of departure for the research and planning in the years to come.

In general I can however say that the most important issues in the proposals made by the majority are supported by the Government as far as the principle is concerned, in the sense that the implementation of the proposals must take place with due regard to the experience acquired through gradual and fresh measures, and if required pilot projects – and of course it should be taken into account whether there is a social economic background and possibilities of getting popular and political support for the expansion.

Central Political Issues in the U 90 Report Requiring an Overall View

Let me illustrate a chief aim of the U-90 report, namely the overall view which it is necessary to take as regards our educational system:

In the report a strenghtening of adult education is proposed, especially as concerns including new population groups and the quality of the courses. This has been proposed from many quarters before, and the idea can be supported in principle by the Government. But we cannot implement deliberations of this kind – including deliberations on measures involving expenditure – without making an assessment of the educational status of the population and its educational needs. The distribution of resources on the various educational fields and the connection between them are in fact one of the main issues in the U-90 report.

A corresponding problem makes itself felt with regard to the proposal in the U-90 report for a strengthening of education in the 10th to 12th educational years. The Government attaches importance to the implementation of this, so that practically all young people – possibly with interruptions – are urged to get an education of a total duration of 12 years – an education which is not only to take place at school. The possibility of an expansion must also in this connection be considered in relation to the whole. If we expand the educational offers for the 10th to 12th educational years, it must be contemplated what groups of the population such offers should cater for – whether it should exclusively be the age groups immediately following the 9th year in the primary and lower secondary school, or also the older age groups who should be given an opportunity of supplementing their education – on the basis of paid educational leave – and of making good any educational 'deficit'. The latter possibility is by far the most expensive, and consequently we should consider the consequences for our educational resources.

Important Problems in the Present Educational System

The point of departure for the U-90 report is of course a characterization of our present educational system and its problem. At this point I will only point to some few problems which are of particular importance to the Government.

There has been a very important expansion of education in Denmark in the 1960s and in the early 1970s. There have been structural changes, for instance the establishment of the basic vocational training scheme, and the number of pupils and students keeps growing. Many improvements have been carried through, but there are still problems which have not been solved, and the most important problem is perhaps that there is a new situation as a result of unemployment, and not least youth unemployment, which has made the problems of those who have a short span of formal education – 'short spanners' – come particularly to the fore. This makes new demands on our educational system.

To this should be added that the expansion of the 1960s and the 1970s will probably have to be superseded by a certain curbing of efforts. This does not imply that we are cut off from improving the quality of the various courses, but rather a critical assessment of the total resources being spent on the growth of education and research. Until a few years ago we were able to expand education at a comparatively rapid pace – now we have to take into consideration the job openings for those who have completed a course, and the distribution of resources on the various educational sectors within a framework which in all essentials can only be expanded if there is a continued increase in the national income.

One of the circumstances which the Government attaches the greatest importance to changing, is the fact that we still have an almost unchanged and far too large group – both among young people and older people – who have not received an education giving a qualification after they have left the primary and lower secondary school – and this despite of the fact that more people are being educated than before. In spite of the establishment of higher preparatory courses and other new courses we still have social imbalance as regards the recruitment for further education; these courses of further education have up till now been tantamount to getting for instance comparatively high wages and job security at a later stage.

It is furthermore an important problem that the contact of the school with the community – including the working life – does not come up to a level which many will consider as desirable, despite many good intentions; this is also one of the problems which the U-90 report examines.

Much of what has been written in the U-90 report has been mentioned before in various contexts. This is not meant as criticism of the report, as the philosophers' stone will hardly be found within educational policy. What is new and valuable is, as has been mentioned before, the attempt at getting a comprehensive view and seeing the problems as part of a whole.

An Educational Political Challenge

There is however one new feature in the U-90 report to which the Government must attach special importance. As I mentioned before, unemployment also means an educational political challenge. In this connection I would like to point to the circumstance that the educational activities which have been initiated as a result of the relief plans, are in step with the recommendations in the U-90 report for implementing untraditional methods and for establishing new courses – not least in order to comprise and involve new population groups. These activities will give experience – for instance with production schools – which gradually may get great importance for the rest of the educational system.

In this connection I would like to add that the Government can support the viewpoint in the U-90 report that educational research will be an important means of assessing new educational measures – and incidentally also for an assessment of traditional courses.

Not Necessarily School Education

I fully realize – and would like to stress – that the deliberations on the proposals in the U-90 report for an expansion of the courses must take into consideration the circumstance that today education is bound up with the working life in a very valuable way – work training, retraining courses, etc. In order to avoid misunderstandings it should be mentioned that education is of course not exclusively something that takes place in a school environment. Other education and training are equally required.

The Main Principles in the U 90 Report

Among the main principles forming the basis of the U-90 report, I should like to give a brief mention of two of them:

Upbringing-Education/ Influencing Attitudes

The U-90 report attaches importance to the circumstance that education – and in particular the primary and lower secondary school – has educative tasks. Education is to contribute to information about and introduction to what the U-90 report terms community life, working life, family life, and leisure life. Some people will perhaps maintain that upbringing is only the concern of the parents. I would like to stress that in the sense that the school is to educate and bring up children, it must take place in the closest possible co-operation with the parents, and this also appears from the objects clause of the Primary and Lower Secondary School Act. With this addition education is an important task for the school, which in my opinion cannot take a passive attitude to the many influencing factors which children and young people are exposed to today outside the school. The entertainment industry alone has such a massive influencing effect on the children that in my eyes it requires suitable countermeasures.

To have everything clear it is necessary to add that the majority behind the U-90 report does not go in for a one-sided ideological influence in education, an opinion I can fully endorse. Let me furthermore add that in future it will also be possible to establish private independent schools and continuation schools with their different educational offers, and it will also in future be possible for them to get public support, as an alternative for the groups of parents who might want special educational principles for their children. – In short, the influencing of attitudes, carried out with moderation, tolerance, and in co-operation with parents – as is the tradition in this country – which is anticipated by the majority in the U-90 report is poles apart from the demagogic formulations about the totalitarian state, which some participants in the debate inside and outside the Folketing have used. The term 'tutelage' which has also been employed, seems equally exaggerated and unreasonable in my opinion. We cannot just like that ignore the rapid changes which society is experiencing and the resulting changes, the problems stemming from such changes do not vanish simply because we close our eyes to them or refrain from mentioning them.

Greater Equality

Another main issue in the U-90 report is the wish that education should contribute to improved equality in society. There should be more equal opportunities for education, and education should contribute towards equalization of financial differences and to furthering ideas about equality, for instance in such a way that we avoid sex and race discrimination. It is a question of furthering ideals about equality which I would imagine the majority of the general public would accept.

The Individual Educational Fields

As concerns the individual educational fields I shall give a brief mention of some of the proposals contained in the U-90 report:

Pre-school Classes/the First Year in the Primary and Lower Secondary School

The majority of the CCE proposes that it shall be made compulsory for the local authorities to establish pre-school classes from the beginning of the 1980s to such an extent as circumstances may require. It is proposed that compulsory education should later be extended to comprise this age group, too. A co-ordination of the teaching in pre-school classes and the lowest forms at school is furthermore proposed. In the next session the Government contemplates the tabling of bills on the former issue, the duty of the local authorities to establish pre-school classes. As concerns the other proposals which I have mentioned, the Government finds that experience will have to decide the further development. At this point I will only say that an important argument for the proposal made by the majority in the U-90 report for an extension of compulsory education has been that all children are to have the same start at school. In principle this seems desirable, but as has been mentioned we shall have to acquire additional experience and consider how a lowering of the compulsory education age can be implemented, if at the same time we are to respect that we do not have compulsory schooling in this country.

The Primary and Lower Secondary School

The Primary and Lower Secondary School Act, 1975 has in fact created a basis for the sustained work in the primary and lower secondary school, and hopefully for a smooth development. A proposal in the U-90 report of special note is that the work is continued on a 'blurring' of the fragmentary division of the timetable into a large number of lessons, and that the work is continued on creating increased contact between the school and the community, including working life. The Government can support both of these proposals in principle, but pilot projects and experience must determine the way to choose. The contact with the community presents issues which are difficult to tackle in practice despite good intentions. It requires in particular co-operation with trade and industry and the public institutions.

10th to 12th Educational Years

As was mentioned earlier the U-90 report proposes an expansion of the 10th to 12th educational years with such attractive educational offers that practically all are induced to use them – possibly with interruptions as a result of participation in the working life. As will be remembered, the Government has presented a proposal for a parliamentary resolution in principle (the last time being in the 1976–77 session) concerning attempts at a co-ordination of the courses at these tiers without being able to get the required support for such a decision in principle. I hope however that it will be possible to get a majority for concrete proposals which the Government might make concerning the expansion and attempts at a certain amount of co-ordination, provided that there is an element of voluntariness on these tiers. I can in advance promise that the sitting Government will support the principle of voluntariness.

Let me add that not least the great intake to upper secondary education over the last few months has made the deliberations concerning the 10th to 12th educational years even more topical.

The majority behind the U-90 report also proposes that the basic vocational training scheme is expanded, and that apprenticeship training is abolished in the long term. I do not intend to make this an introduction to a debate, but I would like to say that the Government can support a further expansion of the basic vocational training scheme.

In the opinion of the Government there must be two weigthy considerations in the continued deliberations on the 10th to 12th educational years. The first is the consideration for the group of young people who at present do not get an education giving qualification after their having completed primary and lower secondary education. The second is the consideration for the unemployed young people, which among other things results in a demand for special educational measures.

Further and Higher Education

Concerning the courses of further and higher education the U-90 report stresses that there should be some type of numerous clauses over the next few years, and that there should be created possibilities for 'early leaving levels' with vocational qualifications, in addition to new short courses. The CCE further finds that attempts should be made to expand the ways of access. The Government concurs in this view and is at present working on

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these questions, including not least the expansion of the short courses of further training/education with a view to the employment openings which such courses offer.

Adult Education

As has been mentioned in a previous section, the majority behind the U-90 report proposes an additional expansion of general adult education and adult education preparing for an examination. The CCE attaches great importance to including new groups, for instance through reaching-out activities. The Act on Courses for Adults Preparing for an Examination in Individual Subjects, 1977 is a tool for expansion of single subject teaching at the upper secondary and higher preparatory levels, and it should also be noted that participation in single subject courses is being developed at universities and institutes of higher education. It is furthermore being contemplated to introduce "ordered education" at such institutions, so that for instance business enterprises and organizations can get an opportunity of retraining staff members and have their expenditure covered.

New measures are in the pipeline in many fields within adult education – this applies for instance to the establishment in 1974 on an experimental basis of centres for pedagogics aimed at mature students for the training of teachers.

One of the most important question in connection with the expansion of adult education is in the opinion of the Government the question of paid educational leave. It is obvious that labour and management must play an important part in the continued deliberations in this respect.

Teacher Training

I can briefly say about teacher training that the U-90 report proposes a certain co-ordination, one of the reasons being the aim of creating improved flexibility as concerns the use of teachers within the various fields of education. The Government can also support this proposal in principle, but in this field the development should take place with due regard being paid to the experience acquired.

Educational Aid

Educational aid is an important prerequisite for an expansion of the courses so that equal opportunities for education can be obtained. The CCE has however not made concrete proposals in the U-90 report as I have requested the Council to continue the work on this central issue. The Council will prepare a report in the course of the next few months.

Resources

Can we afford to expand our educational sector additionally?

The CCE points to the circumstance that increased education in this period characterized by unemployment will only require additional resources to a limited extent. There are unemployed teachers in several fields, and the jobless teachers will without using extra resources to a greater extent be able to use their time on teaching instead of being idle. It should be noted that the CCE points to lower expenditure on account of a fall in the number of pupils in the new classes in the primary and lower secondary school, and the Council finds that it is now time for a certain amount of slowing down in some fields of education. This is the reason why it is necessary to contemplate now what courses it would be most advantageous for us to expand.

If I am to sum up the Government's opinion of which educational fields seem to have been treated unfairly with regard to resources on an overall view – and the expansion of which for several reasons must require special considerations in the coming years – I can mention two fields.

They hold a prominent position in the U-90 report.

The first field is comprised by the 10th to 12th educational year, i.e. youth education, with special importance attached to the measures in connection with youth unemployment.

The second field is comprised by adult education, including the question of possibilities for paid educational leave or only a limited loss of income.

To this should be added measures concerning the start at school, which the Government as mentioned contemplates the tabling of a bill on in the next session of the Folketing.

Central Planning and 'Local Initiatives'

As I have so strongly emphasized the value of the U-90 report as our first rather comprehensive attempt at an overall planning within the educational sector, some people will perhaps maintain that central planning of all courses taken as a whole would not only be wishful thinking, but also – if it were possible – inexpedient and undesirable. It is often maintained that the need for education varies so much and is so dependent on the interests of the 'users' that too much central planning and control would be detrimental to the preparation of the courses in accordance with the wishes in the various population groups and trades.

To this I would like to add that a central planning – which some people consider the U-90 report to be a much too far-reaching example of – very well could be that local initiatives are to have good possibilities of exerting an influence. I will even say that it is very important that this is rendered possible. But a certain amount of breadth of view and a certain connection is in fact required. At any rate, planning should not be criticized as long as it renders possible initiatives from many sides as concerns the framing and the implementation of our courses of education.

International Perspectives

I would like to conclude by mentioning some comments on the educational problems in other countries and in Denmark. Right now the OECD is working on an assessment of Danish educational matters, and this will provide an opportunity for us to see our own situation in an international perspective. The U-90 report amounts to an important element of the material which the OECD experts use – however, without it being the only tool.

Educational problems in the Western world – and partly also in Eastern Europe – have many features in common. The demands for specialized knowledge and ability have increased, and there is an increasing demand for general information about society and culture aimed at young people and older people. Everywhere in the Western world we find youth unemployment as one of the most burning issues – both for the young people and for the stability of society; this unemployment intensifies the classic problem that young people are to find a fixed place in society and in life. Such a fixed place is as a matter of fact far more difficult to find in the present crisis than is normally the case.

As has been said, these problems are well-known in all parts of the Western world, and in the case of youth unemployment they are quite acute and alarming. In this connection it is worth mentioning that at the end of 1977 the OECD published a report "Education Policies and Trends in the Context of Social and Economic Development Perspectives", which is to be discussed at the meeting of Ministers of Education to be held by the OECD in October this year.

This report contains a number of general considerations on the further development of the educational system which reflect the ideas in the U-90 report.

To these comments on the international perspectives I would like to add that the national background – and this includes the design of the courses – is different, and consequently the solutions must be national. We must find our own solutions through debate and experiments on the basis of our own popular and political prerequisites.

The Continued Work

I hope that over the next few months we will get a general debate in organizations and in wider circles on the U-90 report. It is probable that there are members in this Folketing who take a positive or a negative attitude to the U-90 report as a whole and to the individual proposals. However, I do not think that we should go into trench warfare by categorically taking a position right now; this would make a fruitful development of the debate difficult. Education is something which people should themselves be interested in getting, and that is why it is so important in this field to get manifestations on how to design our courses over the next few years. The U-90 report constitutes an experiment in Danish politics, and it is intended to show which guidelines in the educational structure we can get sufficiently broad backing for to be able to realize them.

With this statement to the Folketing I hope that I have explained the objectives of the U-90 report, and that I have given a broad outline of the attitude of the Government to the report at the moment. I hope that we can look forward to a debate in wider circles which can strengthen the basis of the continued work of the Government and the Folketing on our courses of education up to the 1990s.

Synthese. Summary in French

Appendix 8
Traduction

Ce chapitre, qui est une seule synthèse des principales recommandations du plan d'éducation (U 90), ne se veut aucunement un résumé systématique des chapitres précédents.

La divergence des intérêts et des vues au sein du Conseil central d'éducation (C.C.E.) a évidemment troublé un peu l'harmonie complète des idées.

Le rapport fait en plusieurs endroits, et sur des questions limitées, état d'idées divergentes émanant de représentants de la majorité également. Pour voir la liste de ces avis minoritaires, prière de se reporter à la page 360.

Les divergences de vue plus importantes figurent dans les quatre avis minoritaires dont le résumé suit la présente synthèse de la majorité.

1° L'école et l'éducation rangeant, selon nous, parmi les piliers de la société, la politique éducative occupe une place prépondérante parmi les efforts visant soit la continuation, soit le changement de la société.

Toute société se fonde sur *la transmission de génération en génération des acquis de l'expérience*. Cela est vrai non seulement pour les connaissances et les capacités contribuant à la production, mais également pour les structures sociales, l'éthique et la conception de la vie qui les conditionnent, ainsi que pour les principes présidant aux décisions et à la gestion de la société.

L'éducation offre à l'individu la possibilité de mieux se renseigner, de mieux prendre son parti, et de mieux choisir parmi les multiples options nées des changements et des contrastes de la société actuelle.

2° La science et les techniques n'ont pas seulement changé les données matérielles et rendu possible le relèvement substantiel du niveau de vie de toutes les catégories sociales, mais ont exercé aussi une grande influence sur la vie sociale, les familles et les loisirs. La croissance économique est génératrice d'inconvénients tels que la sévérité des conditions de travail, la détérioration des cadres de vie et les changements de la situation de l'individu, autant de facteurs susceptibles de faire naître l'insécurité et l'aliénation.

L'enseignement et l'éducation sont indispensables au processus d'amélioration des conditions matérielles et *permettent également aux jeunes d'agir sur* leurs conditions de vie et de travail.

3° *L'école doit fournir un cadre accueillant aux élèves.*

Comme les enfants passent une grande partie de leur temps à l'école, il importe que la vie à l'école, tout en s'intégrant à la vie extra-scolaire, leur apporte de riches expériences.

Les communautés de dimension modeste, qui conféraient jadis aux parents le rôle de noyaux fixes, ont partiellement disparu. Manque aux enfants d'aujourd'hui le contact avec la vie professionnelle et sociale des parents. Afin de remédier à cette situation, il faut rompre *l'isolement dans lequel se trouvent les établissements scolaires par rapport au monde extra-scolaire.*

4° L'éducation doit contribuer à *créer des individus omnivalents capables d'affronter toutes les situations de la vie.*

Cela ne suffit pas de faire acquérir aux jeunes des capacités professionnelles ou de les initier à la vie économique. Il faut considérer les éducations en fonction de

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l'ensemble des aspects de la vie humaine : *la vie familiale, la vie des loisirs et la vie professionnelle et sociale.* Tout en soulignant qu'aucun de ces côtés de la vie humaine ne doit faire l'objet d'une approche à l'exclusion des autres, et tout en précisant que l'éducation n'est aucunement à considérer comme une seule préparation à l'entrée dans la vie professionnelle, nous tenons à ce que soient traduits dans les faits les nombreux discours sur l'universalité et l'éducation universelle, et ce d'autant plus que les individus doivent pour les quatre vies avoir, dans une large mesure, recours aux mêmes qualités professionnelles et personnelles et aux mêmes attitudes.

C'est ainsi que les jeunes doivent connaître les conditions des autres catégories sociales et comprendre les motifs pour lesquels les autres pensent et s'expriment différemment.

5° Le respect de l'individu et la dignité de l'homme constituent des idéaux fondamentaux, qui, nous le savons, ne sont que réalisables en partie dans un monde de violences, de terreurs et d'oppressions. L'école, tout en œuvrant énergiquement pour le respect des principes de droit sur lesquelles se fonde notre société, doit neutraliser les tendances à la violence et à l'injustice et préconiser aux enfants l'amabilité, l'ouverture et l'attention dans les rapports avec autrui. Contribuerait à la réalisation de ces objectifs la discussion publique des conflits sociaux et des facteurs générateurs de violence et de criminalité.

6° *La solidarité* avec le groupe d'appartenance est une attitude positive. Il faut toujours, cependant, être attentif aux incidences de la solidarité de groupe sur l'individu et sur le grand contexte social. L'un des objectifs majeurs de l'école est de rendre conscients les enfants et les jeunes de la nécessité de la loyauté envers les principes démocratiques de notre société. Sur ce point, l'école ne saurait garder sa neutralité. Or, l'école *doit rechercher la réalisation de ces buts sans tomber dans l'uniformisation et la conformité.* L'école et les autres enseignements ne doivent pas idéaliser la société, danoise ou étrangère, ni camoufler les antagonismes et conflits sociaux. Les jeunes doivent nécessairement connaître les bons et les mauvais côtés du monde et doivent savoir prendre leurs responsabilités. La solidarité avec la société est la base indispensable de la critique et du débat sur les réformes.

7° *La politique constitue un côté essentiel de la vie dans une société démocratique.* Le système éducatif doit initier les enfants et les jeunes à la vie politique ; il doit leur exposer les véritables divergences d'idées et d'intérêts pour leur apprendre à y voir clair et à dégager le sens voilé des mots. *Est difficile la réalisation de l'équilibre entre l'endoctrinement et le développement de l'esprit critique et du sens du raisonnement personnel.* Les enseignants doivent se rendre compte des influences liées à l'exercice de leur métier.

N'est pas admissible la présentation exclusive aux élèves de ses propres vues et critiques par l'enseignant. Cependant l'*« attitude pour et contre »* à neutralité pure est une illusion. Tout en partant de son individualité et de son engagement, qu'il n'étouffe pas, l'enseignant doit rester fidèle aux buts supérieurs de l'école. Le rôle de l'enseignant est celui d'un équilibriste, et les politiques responsables doivent avoir le courage d'assigner des cadres pas trop étroits dans lesquels l'enseignant peut travailler en toute confiance.

8° C'est pour nous un principe fondamental *que personne capable de travailler ne doit sortir du système éducatif sans initiation préalable à la vie active.* Mais la compétence professionnelle doit être large de manière à fournir à chacun une pluralité d'options d'entrée à la vie active et au besoin la possibilité de se recycler.

Les établissements et les secteurs d'activité exercent une large influence sur les exigences en matière de compétences, mais leurs visées sont normalement trop étroites. C'est pourquoi la société doit avoir son mot à dire. Il en est de même lorsqu'il faut assurer le nombre requis de postes de stagiaires.

Le travail est nécessaire pour la base matérielle et possède *une valeur propre*. Mais le travail exécuté sur des ordres et sans moyen pour le travailleur d'agir lui-même sur la méthode et la cadence du travail et sans possibilité pour lui de juger du résultat n'est que rarement générateur de joie.

L'école peut initier à l'exécution de tâches et peut apprendre aux jeunes et aux adultes à participer à la planification du travail et à la démocratisation de la vie active en général en vue d'améliorer l'ambiance et de rendre plus salutaires les lieux de travail.

9° La réalisation d'une plus grande égalité d'accès à l'éducation joue un rôle de première importance. Cet objectif est difficilement réalisable à bien des égards dans une société à fortes disparités de niveau de vie, de statut social, d'influences et de statut culturel.

La politique éducative peut contribuer à atténuer ou à éliminer les inégalités et les discriminations. Or, cette politique n'est réalisable que si tout le monde reçoit la même offre et est mis en situation d'y répondre, ce qui demanderait un supplément d'aide aux handicapés et aux retardataires.

Le système d'enseignement danois a franchi bien des caps en matière de suppression de l'aiguillage précoce des enfants et des autres obstacles structurels à l'égalité. Mais beaucoup reste à faire.

Nous nous proposons de créer un système éducatif dont la qualité et la variété des options *permettent d'aboutir à une scolarisation volontaire générale de douze ans – et, à plus longue échéance, de treize ans.*

La parfaite égalité en matière d'éducation n'est pas réalisable, mais tout le monde doit avoir les mêmes chances et l'ensemble du système éducatif doit traduire une attitude et une conception égalitaires de l'homme. L'aspect éclectique de nombre d'éducations théoriques spécialisées doit disparaître.

A. Un projet de reforme

10° On pourrait se demander quel système éducatif nous établirions si nous étions libres de former, sur base des objectifs formulés, le système que nous jugeons le mieux adapté aux hommes vivant dans le genre de société dont nous souhaitons la réalisation dans les années 90. Il en résulterait peut-être un système tout différent du système actuel.

Mais nous ne pouvons faire table rase, car nombreux sont les impératifs et contraintes qui s'imposent : le système productif, la répartition de la propriété et des pouvoirs, les structures de la consommation, de l'habitat, des agglomérations, etc. ; en outre, des données dans le système éducatif telles que les traditions de l'enseignement, les manuels, les bâtiments scolaires, etc., et notamment l'effectif enseignant une fois installé. Nos propres idées sur les éventuelles actions et manières d'agir sont également fonction de nos conditions de vie et de travail.

Nous estimons nécessaire de tenter, à partir des données existantes, de prendre progressivement la direction désirée.

Cette manière d'agir harmonise avec l'idée fondamentale selon laquelle *le développement doit se réaliser dans le respect des principes démocratiques qui permettent aux élèves, parents, enseignants et demandeurs de main-d'œuvre d'agir sur le cours des événements de par la libre formulation de leurs désirs et de par de libre lancement d'initiatives.*

Toute tentative de restructuration du système éducatif selon un modèle théorique non développé ni mis à l'épreuve pratique n'est pas seulement contraire aux principes de participation, mais, engendrant sans doute l'insécurité et l'animosité, pourrait enrayer tout progrès ultérieur. Voici le dilemme de toute politique des réformes : le risque, d'une part, des visées si audacieuses que, restant inacceptables, elles bloquent les réformes, et, d'autre part, le risque des visées si modestes que, bien que bénéficiant de l'acceptation générale, elles ne mènent nulle part. Il s'ensuit que les projets doivent, tout en tenant compte des faits, viser un but précis.

La majorité d'entre nous, qui a recherché cette équilibre, estime que les orientations et les propositions présentées par le Comité constituent un excellent point de départ pour les efforts visant, dans les quinze ans à venir, à mettre sur pied un système éducatif qui réponde aux besoins et aux intérêts de la population.

B. Considerations pedagogiques

11° Il faut substituer à la tradition répandue dans l'ensemble du système éducatif de compartimentage des matières et de séparation des disciplines théoriques et pratiques, la recherche de la symbiose des spécialités. C'est ainsi que la coopération et la fusion des matières et l'étude des problèmes communs deviennent des éléments importants de la future pédagogie.

De même, l'évaluation périodique forme pour les élèves et les enseignants un élément indispensable du travail pédagogique.

Les épreuves et les notes de l'école primaire doivent être conçues et appliquées de manière ne pas attribuer une trop grande importance aux performances formelles et à traduire davantage l'enseignement quotidien. Il faut reconsidérer le besoin d'une poursuite du recours aux épreuves et aux examens dans le cas où la scolarisation serait de douze ans pour l'ensemble des élèves.

12° Il est de toute première importance, tout en évitant que l'éducation et l'enseignement ne se basent exclusivement sur les paroles – parlées ou écrites – de réaliser *l'étroite relation entre, d'une part, les paroles et la théorie, et, d'autre part, le travail manuel, l'action, la coopération et la vie affective.*

Il importe également que l'enseignement fasse appel aux expériences de chacun. Projetée sur les expériences personnelles, la connaissance générale redouble d'importance, et nombreuses sont les connaissances qui s'acquièrent le mieux à partir des nombreuses expériences concrètes de la vie quotidienne.

En conséquence, nous donnons, à tous les degrés de l'enseignement, une forte priorité aux activités qui exigent la participation active des élèves – que ce soient les activités esthétiques, physiques ou théoriques. L'esthétique et la création sont parties intégrantes de la totalité des matières.

L'approche des problèmes pratiques jouant un rôle clé de l'enseignement, chacun doit apprendre à s'instruire sur base soit de ses propres expériences, soit de celles d'autrui.

Les stages constituent en outre le meilleur outil pour les jeunes de connaître la vie active. *Le travail en groupe* initie à la coopération. *L'éducation à la démocratie* ne pouvant s'accomplir que par la coopération, *la participation des élèves à la gestion* de l'école forme un aspect important.

L'école a aussi une fonction éducative. Tout enseignement agit sur le comportement et les attitudes. L'importance de ce fait étant normalement négligée, il faut y porter l'attention pour un examen critique en prenant pour base la visée supérieure du futur système éducatif.

13° Personne ne pouvant, au cours d'une scolarisation de douze ans, acquérir qu' une fraction des connaissances nécessaires par la suite, *la formation continue constitue une option pertinente pour tous* – mais joue un rôle encore plus essentiel l'*instruction personnelle*. Sur ce point, la radio et la télévision offrent de larges possibilités.

Nous proposons une étude portant sur le rôle occupé par la radio et la télévision dans la propagation des connaissances et des attitudes et les répercussions sur l'école dans ce domaine.

C. Projets d'une restructuration

14° Les grands projets de restructuration, de réaménagement et d'extension porte notamment sur trois degrés du système d'enseignement :
- l'école maternelle et primaire
- l'éducation des jeunes et
- l'éducation des adultes.

S'y ajoute notre désir de voir se réaliser le développement et l'harmonisation de l'actuel système compliqué *d'aide aux étudiants et aux écoliers* ainsi qu'à toute autre personne en cours de formation. Le Ministre de l'Education nous ayant prié d'analyser de plus près la situation dans ce domaine, l'heure n'est pas pour les projets concrets en la matière.

Suit, dans l'ordre indiqué, une synthèse de nos projets :

15° Le projet portant sur *l'école maternelle* vise, dans un premier temps, *l'extension, dans l'ensemble des communes du pays, des classes maternelles*, ainsi qu'au rapprochement des méthodes des classes maternelles et des premières années de l'école primaire. Ces mesures permettraient à la fois de faciliter le passage de la maternelle à la primaire et de donner à tous, dans la mesure du possible, les mêmes chances au départ.

Dans un second temps, nous entendons œuvrer pour la généralisation, à la fin des années 80, de la scolarisation dès la sixième année révolue.

Nous y ajoutons un projet d'élargissement des *offres de garde l'enfant* dont l'âge est compris entre six et neuf ans. La garde des enfants assurée, dans une large mesure, dans le cadre de l'école, ne doit pas avoir pour but unique le dépôt de l'enfant, mais viser à l'épanouissement de l'enfant.

L'accord n'a pas été réalisé sur la question de savoir si la garde doit jouir de la gratuité, comme le font les classes maternelles.

16° Pour ce qui concerne la « folkeskolen », nous soumettons des projets qui appuient les tendances en cours et qui exploitent les possibilités fournies par la nouvelle loi sur la « folkeskolen » en vigueur depuis 1977.

La réforme vise en substance.
- à une plus grande flexibilité dans la distribution des matières sur l'emploi du temps,
- à la réduction du cloisonnement des matières,
- à la prise de départ, par l'enseignement, dans le monde immédiat de l'enfant,
- à l'accentuation des activités créatrices, esthétiques et physiques,
- à l'amélioration des relations entre l'école et le monde extrascolaire, notamment les parents, les secteurs d'activité et les organisations, et à la mise à profit de ces contacts dans l'enseignement,
- à l'augmentation des heures de classe hebdomadaires.

17° En matière d'*extension de l'éducation des jeunes*, prolongement immédiat des 9e et 10e années de la « folkeskolen », nous soumettons les projets suivants :
- En 1990 au plus tard, le nombre des offres attrayantes doit être tel qu'il permette la participation de l'ensemble des jeunes âgés entre seize et dix-neuf

ans. Passé 1990, le phénomène des laissés-pour-compte de l'enseignement doit être du domaine du passé pour les jeunes générations.

- Tout le monde devra alors bénéficier de douze ans de scolarisation au minimum. Tous devront posséder ou bien une compétence professionnelle ou bien des qualités leur permettant de s'orienter directement vers l'enseignement supérieur.
- Personne ne devra acquérir une compétence professionelle qui soit si exclusive et si étroite qu'elle ne débouche que sur un travail spécialisé. Tout le monde devra en effet jouir d'une compétence professionnelle générale.
- Aucune éducation des jeunes fournissant la compétence professionelle ou qualifiant aux études supérieures ne devra conduire au seul enseignement supérieur. Tous les jeunes devront jouir d'un épanouissement cohérent et polyvalent faisant entrer en ligne de compte la vie familiale, professionnelle et sociale ainsi que les loisirs.
- Nous ne voulons pas un système obligatoire, ni un tronc commun rigide calqué sur des modèles, car, d'un côté, nous pensons qu'il faut laisser un champs d'action aux alternatives, et, d'un autre côté, nous désirons garder un large éventail d'offres qui permette aux jeunes de choisir la voie qui les convienne. A part cela, il faudra toujours assurer la survie des écoles libres. *Mais nous recommandons une plus forte harmonisation des diverses formules de l'enseignement qui fasse disparaître les barrières existantes et facilite le passage de ceux qui désirent virer de bord en cours de route.*
- *L'amélioration des formules d'aide aux étudiants* s'impose notamment à ce niveau-là pour éviter l'abandon des études par les économiquement faibles.
- Les recherches et les essais, en la matière, doivent s'effectuer à l'initiative tant locale que centrale.

18° *L'enseignement supérieur à longue et moyenne échéance* a connu, ces quinze dernières années, un élargissement tel que la poursuite de cette expansion ne semble plus indiquée. Il faudra suivre de façon continue la situation de l'emploi pour éviter le déséquilibre entre l'offre et la demande.

Nous recommandons la création de diplômes moyens qui permettent d'acquérir, après trois ou quatre années d'études, un diplôme attestant l'acquisition d'une compétence professionnelle.

Nous recommandons, en outre, l'*établissement*, dans l'enseignement supérieur à longue et moyenne échéance, et, à plus forte raison, *dans l'enseignement supérieur à courte échéance, de nouvelles options* adoptées à l'évolution professionnelle et sociale.

Il faudra, aussi dans l'enseignement supérieur, mettre l'accent sur les aptitudes pour l'établissement des relations et de la coopération ainsi que pour la communication des connaissances et des informations. Ce sont là des qualités de haute importance non seulement pour les futurs enseignants, mais également pour la plupart des autres catégories socio-professionnelles dans leurs rapports avec les clients, les collaborateurs, le public, etc.

19° Les projets ayant trait à l'*éducation des adultes* reprennent les orientations fixées pour l'éducation des jeunes. Constitue une ligne de force l'intensification des efforts de *recrutement* entrepris, entre autres, par l'intermédiaire des organisations professionnelles et des organismes de vulgarisation ainsi que par un recours plus étendu à la radio-télévision.

Il importe de faire *un effort particulier pour les nombreux adultes n'ayant accomplis que les options courtes de l'enseignement ;* l'essentiel est de leur fournir de meilleurs moyens d'entrée et de promotion dans la vie active, et de leur donner la possibilité de mieux jouir de leur vie familiale et sociale et de leurs loisirs.

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Nous proposons que tous ceux qui sont brevetés de l'enseignement court aient la possibilité de bénéficier d'un supplément d'enseignement et d'éducation ayant la même visée que l'éducation des jeunes, mais organisé selon les besoins des adultes. Il faudra notamment réunir deux conditions pour donner de la consistance à ce projet : en premier lieu, la facultée d'accomplir une formation, pendant les heures de travail, c'est-à-dire le congé avec droit au réembauchage – ou, pour les entreprises personnelles, le détachement d'un remplaçant – pedant la durée de la formation, et, en second lieu, le versement d'une indemnité en compensation de la perte de revenues encourue à l'occasion de la formation.

Nous sommes conscients du prix de ces mesures et des problèmes pratiques qu'elles poseraient aux entreprises.

En conséquence, nous proposons une approche par étapes, d'autant plus que l'organisation, sur une large échelle, de ces formations ainsi que le recrutement du personnel enseignant demandent le temps nécessaire.

Nous soulignons que, au point de vue économie, il faut tenir compte de l'actuel chômage, car le total des frais causés par le chômage à longue échéance est supérieur aux dépenses relatives au projet d'organisation des formations.

Par conséquent, nous proposons en outre de *permettre aux chômeurs de poursuivre une formation sans déchéance des droits à l'indemnité.*

D'une manière plus générale, nous proposons le droit à la formation continue pour tous déjà dotés d'une formation professionnelle, ainsi que la poursuite du large développement des nombreuses formules de l'éducation permanente et la subvention de l'Etat dans ce domaine.

Nous partons du principe que l'éducation des adultes est utile, dans la mesure où les bénéficiaires la jugent utile.

20° Nous proposons l'harmonisation de *la formation du corps enseignant,* actuellement organisée solon cinq ou six options cloisonnées, et nous recommandons, dans ce domaine, une étroite relation entre les intérêts matériels et les visées pédagogiques.

Nous souhaitons rendre moins brutales les barrières existant entre les corps enseignants des divers établissements.

21° Le C.C.E., tout en estimant utile de ne pas examiner de plus près les nombreux détails *administratifs,* a pourtant abordé quelques questions essentielles touchant au partage des responsabilités entre les administrations.

La réalisation de nos idées sur un système éducatif cohérent dont les différents niveaux tendent au même but et dont le développement ne soit pas bloqué, est subordonnée à la réorganisation administrative. C'est cependant là une condition plus facile à remplir au Danemark qu'ailleurs, étant donné les nombreuses initiatives déjà prises à cette fin.

Nous estimons souhaitables :

- le renforcement de la planification supérieure par l'instauration d'une coopération formelle entre le Ministère de l'Education et les autres départements ministériels responsables de l'enseignement et de l'éducation,
- une meilleure harmonisation, dans le domaine relevant du Ministère de l'Education, des éducations des jeunes initiant, d'une part, à la vie active, d'autre part, aux études, qui ressortissent aujourd'hui à plusieurs directions,
- la mise au clair et la simplification du partage des responsabilités entre l'Etat, les départements et les communes, ainsi que
- *l'attribution, dans la mesure du possible, des compétences aux établissements* au sein desquelles *les écoliers et les étudiants devront participer, avec les enseignants, aux décisions.*

22° Les trois années d'élaboration de l'U 90 ont vu la poursuite du développement de la politique éducative. De nouvelles idées ont été débattues, des essais réalisés, des projets ont été déposés et des lois adoptées. Il n'a jamais été envisagé de freiner les initiatives tant que duraient les travaix du Conseil visant à définir les structures d'ensemble.

Les futures réformes s'accompliront également par périodes et par étapes pour ce qui concerne les diverses composants du système d'enseignement.

L'U 90 n'établit pas un calendrier fixe pour la planification détaillée et les décisions des quinze prochaines années, mais fournit une meilleure base pour une planification continue qui tienne compte à la fois de l'évolution de la société, des idées nouvelles et des nouvelles données politiques.

Dans quinze ans, de nombreux problèmes apparaîtront sous une lumière toute différente. Les initiatives qui paraissent aujourd'hui hardies participeront demain des actions logiques, et les réformes paraissant aujourd'hui indispensables s'avéreront inutiles, par exemple du fait de l'émergence de solutions d'une tout autre nature. Le développement prodigieux intervenu depuis 1960 ne fait qu'illustrer et créditer ce point de vue.

La planification continue devra, pour qu'elle puisse constituer un fondement solide à la politique éducative des années à venir, s'accomplir par une large coopération. Il sera nécessaire de multiplier les données de base et de rapprocher les auteurs des projets et les chercheurs en matière d'enseignement. Ces mesures supposent la création de cadres plus fixes et nous sommes d'avis qu'à cette fin le C.C.E. et le bureau de planification du Ministère devront établir une collaboration avec les représentants des nombreux établissements effectuant des recherches en matière d'enseignement.

D. Demandes de ressources

23° Un certain nombre des présents projets comporteront une augmentation des dépenses publiques et des effectifs d'élèves, d'enseignants et d'autres catégories de personnel, à raison, en 1990, de 50 à 60.000 élèves âgés de plus de seize ans, d'environ 20.000 enseignants et d'environ 5.000 personnes appartenant aux autres catégories de personnel.

Nous pensons qu'en période de grand chômage ces augmentations sont loin d'être néfastes pour la situation économique du pays, et qu'une intensification des efforts en matière d'enseignement comporte de grands avantages pour l'individu et pour la société.

Par la suite, au moment du retour des bonnes conjonctures, le maintien des efforts éducatifs sera également utile. L'éducation conditionne de nombreux aspects de la vie et la chance pour le Danemark de soutenir l'âpre concurrence internationale dépend des connaissances et des autres compétences que confère l'éducation.

En cas de mise en œuvre de nos projets, de réalisation de quelques améliorations de portée générale et de développement de l'aide aux étudiants et aux écoliers, la part du produit national consacrée à l'enseignement passera des actules sept p.c. aux huit p.c. en 1990. Il s'agit là pour nous d'une augmentation dans les limites du possible. Or, nombre de projets sont susceptibles de modifications, ce qui permettrait de différer les décisions sur les structures d'ensemble. Par contre, il importe de poursuivre la planification préparatoire.

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Résumé des avis minoritaires

1. *M. Knud Ølgaard,* le représentant de la Fédération Danoise des Syndicats Agricoles (De Samvirkende danske Landboforeninger) de la Fédération Danoise des Syndicats des Petits Exploitants (De samvirkende danske Husmandsforeninger) et du Conseil de l'Agriculture de Danemark (Landbrugsrådet) et *M. Erik Tøttrup,* le représentant de la Confédération des Employeurs Danois (Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening) reprochent principalement à la méthode utilisée lors de l'élaboration de l'U 90 que le Plan se base essentiellement sur *une seule valeur fixée politiquement, à savoir le désir d'appliquer le principe d'égalité d'une manière plus radicale qu'il n'a été le cas jusqu'à maintenant.*

La minorité approuve que l'égalité des chances est un des principes fondamentaux de notre système éducatif, mais elle souligne qu'elle n'est qu'un des principes. Pour que l'U 90 soit utilisable comme base au débat, le plan aurait dû contenir d'autres points de vue. La minorité fait observer que l'U 90 se veut un guide pour bien des institutions différentes : le gouvernement, le Folketing, la presse, les établissements d'enseignement et le public.

L'U 90 aurait dû indiquer comment d'autres objectifs pourraient être pris en considération. Par exemple on peut mentionner que les exigences en matière de compétence – les qualifications professionnelles – ne sont traitées que d'une manière trop restreinte et trop superficielle. Cela semble peu raisonnable, compte tenu du fait que le Danemark ne peut faire face à la concurrence étrangère que grâce à notre savoir-faire, notre niveau professionnel très élevé. Dans cet ordre d'idées la majorité ne cherche pas à trouver une solution à la question de savoir comment assurer une coopération, notamment avec les entreprises, permettant d'établir un juste équilibre entre l'enseignement dispensé en particulier dans le cadre de certaines formations professionnelles et les fonctions que les élèves doivent remplir par la suite. Par contre, la majorité recommande une participation accrue des élèves et des enseignants. Selon l'avis de la minorité cela risquerait de se faire au détriment du niveau professionnel, étant donné que les etablissements tels qu'ils existent actuellement ne disposent pas des moyens nécessaires pour adapter les formations aux fonctions que les élèves devront remplir par la suite.

Si l'on néglige ces problèmes de qualification, cela aura surtout des répercussions sur les jeunes, qui ont déjà du mal à trouver un emploi.

L'U 90 s'occupe trop peu des possibilités d'aménager les formations de sorte qu'elles profitent aux citoyens tout au long de leur vie, ce qui revient à dire que le Plan ne traite pas assez de ce qu'on appelle de nos jours « la formation permanente ». On se base beaucoup trop sur les établissements et leurs fonctions.

C'est une question décisive de savoir jusqu'à quel point le système éducatif doit sortir du cadre des qualifications professionnelles et tout à fait générales. Il est dangéreux que le système éducatif se penche sur les attitudes des individus vis-à-vis des loisirs, de la vie familiale et de la vie sociale. Il est probablement indispensable qu'il s'intéresse également à ces côtés de la vie des citoyens, mais jusqu'à quel point ? Il s'agit là de considérations politiques concernant d'une part les égards à la responsabilité des familles et celle des individus envers eux-mêmes, et d'autre part de l'aide de la société à l'individu, aide qui pourrait facilement aboutir à dérober l'individu de toute responsablité et de toute initiative.

La minorité formule des réserves quant à plusieurs points concrets du projet soumis par la majorité.

La minorité trouve que la proposition d'incorporer l'*école maternelle* dans la partie obligatoire du système éducatif est peu justifiée, en tout cas dans sa forme actuelle. Que la proposition de la majorité aboutisse à des méthodes d'enseignement essentiellement plus efficaces, ou que ce soit l'aspect de garde de l'enfant qui jouera le plus grand rôle, ne résulte pas de facon claire de la proposition. Avant que cette question ne soit clarifée au moyen d'études pratiques, la minorité ne trouve pas justifié de considérer un abaissement de l'âge de la scolarité obligatoire.

En ce qui concerne la *formation des jeunes*, la minorité est d'avis que celle-ci ne doit pas être intégrée ni coordonnée dans la mesure proposée.

La minorité recommande que dès maintenant on se concentre sur le développement d'un système éducatif à double filière, les lycées et les cours préparatoires aux études supérieures en formant une des filières, et les différentes formations techniques et commerciales en constituant l'autre. Cela n'est pas une désapprobation d'une coopération pratique, ni un rejet de l'idée que les élèves intéressés optent pour des matières relevant de l'autre filière. Au contraire, une telle coopération pourrait être d'une très grande importance.

La minorité trouve que la recommandation du Conseil central d'éducation au sujet de la *formation des adultes* ne tient pas suffisamment compte du fait qu'on ne saurait imposer des dépenses aux entreprises, sans que cela ait des conséquences graves pour la compétitivité et, partant, pour l'emploi. La minorité fait surtout allusion à la proposition visant à instaurer un congé de formation sans perte de salaire pour les travailleurs adultes désirant de suivre des cours d'information générale. La minorité approuve qu'il s'agit là d'un objectif qui mérite une délibération sérieuse, mais en l'espèce elle se sent obligée de rejeter les moyens proposés.

Il serait plus à propos de se concentrer sur les *chômeurs* et d'essayer d'offrir à ce groupe des possibilités d'éducation utiles. Selon l'avis de la minorité il serait opportun d'ouvrir un débat général sur les possibilités d'aménager la formation des adultes de manière qu'elle puisse (également) fonctionner comme un instrument utile dans *la politique du travail*, où les interventions pourraient suivre les variation du taux de chômage, et où elles pourraient donc – en tout cas dans une certaine mesure – parer aux répercussions du chômage sur ses victimes.

2. M. *Finn Thorgrimson*, le représentant de la Confédération Nationale du Travail (LO), déclare pouvoir se rallier à la plupart des opinions exprimées par la majorité dans l'U 90, mais sur certains point il s'est senti obligé de formuler des avis minoritaires, dont voici le résumé :

La minorité est d'avis que le chapitre consacré à nos visions sur la société de l'avenir ne tient pas suffisamment compte du besoin de l'instauration d'un régime de participation des salariés.

La minorite trouve que l'exigence accrue d'une démocratisation de même que l'augmentation des demandes de capitaux sont susceptibles de favoriser l'idée du régime de participation dans un avenir très proche.

La minorité, se prononcant de la part de la Confédération Nationale du Travail, tient à formuler des réserves sur la rédaction du chapitre consacré aux objectifs visés dans la politique éducative des années 90, ainsi que sur le rôle donné au système éducatif quand il y va d'apporter aux élèves des attitudes positives vis-à-vis des règles et des normes existantes. Il faut absolument qu'on ait une attitude critique envers certaines choses, tout en se tenant dans le cadre de la loi.

L'avis minoritaire mentionne notamment les manières différentes dont sont jugés les délits financiers et les vols simples.

La minorité fait les remarques suivantes sur le chapitre consacré aux propositions de réforme :

En ce qui concerne l'école primaire, le représentant de la Confédération Nationale du Travail désire l'abolition des notes et des examens.

De même il désire l'abolition du système actuel d'options dans les dernières classes de la « folkeskolen ».

En outre la minorité est d'avis que la discipline « connaissance générale du travail » doit être rendu obligatoire.

Ces déclaration ont été faites avec l'intention d'atténuer la sélection sociale des élèves qui a lieu déjà au niveau de la « folkeskolen ».

Pour ce qui est de la formation des adultes, la minorité a fait une déclaration assez longue, non pas parce qu'elle trouve que le texte de l'U 90 est dépourvu de côtés positifs, mais parce qu'elle juge ceux-ci insuffisants.

L'essentiel de la déclaration est le principe du congé de formation rémunéré, projet qui vise surtout à offrir aux travailleurs adultes une possibilité réelle de rattrapper leur retard en matière de formation.

La minorité propose qu'à tout moment au moins 5 % des effectifs de la main-d'œuvre soit en congé de formation avec droit de rémunération selon les règles du marché du travail en matière de formation.

Le système comportera en outre le droit pour les travailleurs de conserver leur emploi.

Si le système éducatif en général doit fonctionner dans le cadre d'un budget donné, la minorité propose une redistribution des ressources qui favorise la formation des adultes.

Se référant du chapitre consacré aux problèmes de gestion, et en vue de contrecarrer le monopole des éditeurs privés de livres scolaires, la minorité propose la constitution de maisons d'édition publiques, ce qui permettrait à l'Etat, aux départements et aux communes de s'engager dans la production de matériel d'instruction.

M. Jørgen Jensen, Mme Kirsten Kjersgård, M. Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen, Mme Gunhild Nissen et *M. Finn Brandt-Petersen* se sont ralliés aux réserves formulées par le représentant de la Confédération Nationale du Travail sur la rédaction du chapitre VIII concernant le rôle de système éducatif quand il y va d'apporter aux élèves des attitudes positives vis-à-vis de toutes les règles et les normes existantes.

M. Jørgen Jensen, Mme Kirsten Kjersgård et *M. Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen* se sont en outre entièrement ralliés au principe fondamental souligné dans l'avis minoritaire sur la formation des adultes, quant à la question d'accorder à tout travailleur le droit d'un congé de formation rémunéré.

3. *M. Bent Nyløkke Jørgensen* qui représente la Fédération des Syndicats des Agrégés (Akademikernes Centralorganisation) a souligné, dans quelques courts avis minoritaires, que l'équilibre entre les différentes formations des jeunes doit être assuré en permettant aux jeunes de choisir librement parmi les formations orientées vers la vie pratique et celles visant la poursuite des études, à savoir les lycées et les cours préparatoires aux études supérieures. En outre il a souligné que le Conseil central d'éducation n'avait pas eu une base technique lui permettant de

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soumettre la proposition d'un regroupement des formations des jeunes sous une seule direction relevant du Ministère de l'éducation.

4. *M. Finn Brandt-Fetersen, M. Erik Jørgen Hansen, Mme Else Sejer Larsen* et *Mme Gunhild Nissen* énumèrent en premier lieu plusieurs *motifs de leur avis minoritaire,* dont notamment que le texte principal fait apparaître l'harmonie sur des points où une déscription des conflits aurait été plus à propos, et en outre que le texte se base sur la confiance dans les résultats qu'il est possible d'obtenir seulement en partant du principe égalitaire, sans réfléchir davantage à l'importance des structures fondamentales de l'éducation et de la société. Ensuite ils relèvent l'absence, dans le texte principal, d'un objectif clair sous forme d'un modèle de la structure et du contenu du système éducatif à la fin de la période de planification ou par la suite.

En se basant sur des données statistiques la minorité fait état de *l'évolution du secteur d'éducation au cours de la période d'expansion, depuis le début des années 1960.* La conclusion en est que le groupe dit résiduel reste grosso modo inchangé après cette période, qu'il y a eu une réduction du groupe possédant les aptitudes professionnelles de base et une augmentation de celui possédant des aptitudes théoriques, de même que le recrutement socialement inéquitable pour les différents secteurs du système éducatif a été maintenu.

Cela s'explique en partie par la division de la gestion qui a existé jusqu'à maintenant : la « folkeskolen » et les formations supérieures théoriques relevant des hommes politiques et de l'administration centrale, et les formations techniques et commerciales étant laissées aux organismes du marché du travail, en pratique aux patrons.

La minorité fait le bilan de *la vie de tous les jours telle qu'elle se déroule à l'intérieur des écoles et des établissements d'enseignement – contenu, langue, comportement* – autant de facteurs qui contribuent à l'oppression des intérêts des défavorisés au moyen de normes et de formes d'enseignement qui sont étrangères à de nombreux enfant, et en particulier aux enfants d'ouvriers.

Ensuite la minorité esquisse *l'évolution que pourrait parcourir la société au cours des dix années à venir.* Il s'agit là d'une extrapolation de tendances que l'on peut observer dès maintenant, et qui mènent à une augmentation de l'industrialisation, de la bureaucracie, de la dégradation de l'environnement etc. accompagné d'une intensification des conflits et des luttes entre groupes d'intérêt. Ceci permet de discerner des tendances à Etat corporatif – c'est-à-dire une société où l'Etat dirige de plus en plus des domaines sociaux d'une manière toujours plus sévère, tout en se servant de mesures ayant caractère de censure.

Finalement la minorité soumet une *esquisse d'un système éducatif* susceptible de favoriser les tendances souhaitables et de freiner celles qui sont non souhaitables. Le principe fondamental est une scolarité obligatoire de 12 années à filière unique pour tout le monde, scolarité qui sera divisée en trois cycles.

1) *Un cycle préélémentaire de 2 à 3 ans,* commençant dès l'âge de 5 ans et conçu comme une fusion des activités actuelles des jardins d'enfants, des classes maternelles, des classes élémentaires et du système de garde d'enfants mais assurées par des enseignants possédants de meilleures qualifications pédagogiques et professionnelles.

2) *Un cycle d'enseignement primaire de 7 ans,* sans examens et sans options susceptibles de sélectionner et de donner aux enfants des qualifications différentes. L'enseignement doit prendre comme point de départ les expériences personnelles des enfants, ainsi qu'il doit incorporer les tendances, les objectifs et les conflits du

monde extrascolaire. Il doit y avoir des séquences concernant l'information sur les problèmes et joignant les connaissances théoriques et pratiques. Le but est d'apporter aux élèves la compréhension de la situation et des conditions de l'individu de même que des expériences des possibilités dont disposent le groupe et la communauté d'actions conscientes et constructives.

3) *Un cycle de scolarité de 3 ans* à la fin duquel tous les jeunes gens âgés de 17 ans auront acquis les qualifications générales pour s'engager dans des études ou dans la vie professionnelle. Au début il pourrait être divisé en plusieurs branches, par exemple quatre : Production, communication, environnement, et encore santé, aide sociale, dans un système intégré qui aurait incorporé des éléments pris de certaines matières relevant de l'enseignement théorique dans les lycées, certains éléments de la formation technique et commerciale de base de même qu'il adopterait le système des options des cours préparatoires à l'enseignement supérieur et les pensées nouvelles relatives à l'enseignement postscolaire.

Après les 12 ans de scolarité obligatoire le droit sera garanti à tous les élèves d'acquérir, au cours d'une période de trois ans au maximum, *des qualifications professionnelles* qui donneront accès à une profession avec plein salaire. Ces formations pourront elles aussi être divisées par branches comme par exemple celles visées ci-dessus.

Une fois finies ces formations on aura la possibilité de poursuivre des études plus spécialisées et qui iront plus loin, sans cependant entraîner des avantages salariaux. On ne pourra pas s'engager dans de telles études qu'après plusieurs années de travail pratique.

Il sera garanti à tout adulte qui n'aurait pas fait 12 ans le droit d'une formation complémentaire lui permettant de rattraper son retard de scolarité, et cela sans perte de salaire.

Il sera assuré aux élèves à tous les niveaux *le droit de participation* proprement dite, et à cet effet les établissements seront divisés dans de petites unités autonomes.

L'aménagement en détail du système d'enseignement esquissé devra être décentralisé, c'est pourquoi la minorité propose d'instaurer, dès maintenant, *une période d'essai* de 6 ans par exemple, au cours de laquelle les établissements seront libres d'aménager et d'essayer en pratique des séquences d'enseignement avec l'objectif esquissé. Ces essais feront l'objet de descriptions et d'évaluations pour former la base de la mise au point de modifications plus durables.

En outre, la minorité tire un certain nombre de conclusions relatives à *la formation du corps enseignant,* et à la fin elle indique des *mesures immédiates et à courte échéance* à prendre contre les trois problèmes prédominants dans le domaine de la formation : l'aide aux étudiants, le groupe résiduel et le chômage des jeunes.

5. *M. Martin Jespersen,* qui représente l'Union nationale des étudiants, attribue à l'U 90 une autre signification et d'autres fonctions que la majorité du Conseil central d'éducation. Nous avons un autre point de vue sur les problèmes dans le système existant et des idées différentes relatives aux remèdes qu'il faut y apporter afin d'obtenir des améliorations réelles.

L'U 90 ne formera guère en soi la base de décisions assentielles au sein de l'appareil étatique, et elle n'engagera pas non plus la population dans un large débat à propos du système éducatif, comme le prétend la majorité du Conseil central d'éducation. Dans sa compréhension et sa « critique » du système existant le « plan » est beaucoup trop vague et trop abstrait de sorte qu'on ne peut en tirer que très peu de conclusions concrètes, et dans ses passages relatifs aux réformes il se borne à proposer des ajustements insignifiants.

Vis-à-vis de la population le plan aura des fonctions de justification et de propagande, et il la rendra passive plutôt que de l'influencer et de lui faire comprendre réellement la politique éducative de l'Etat.

Les problèmes qui existent dans le système éducatif sont voilés ou minimisés par la majorité du Conseil central d'éducation parce qu'on ne s'occupe que de façon très superficielle des problèmes dans les différentes branches de l'enseignement et qu'on se borne à de belles phrases vagues ou à l'énumération des différents points de vue qu'on pourrait avoir. L'essentiel de l'U 90 c'est que le système existant est pratiquement idéal et qu'il n'est simplement besoin que d'y apporter quelques modifications mineures ça et là. Le Conseil central d'éducation déclare que les plus grands efforts sont à déployer dans le domaine de l'éducation des adultes, celui des 16 à 19 ans et encore celui des enfants au début de la scolarité, mais ces domaines ne font pas non plus l'objet de propositions de réformes remarquables. Dans un domaine aussi important que celui de l'éducation des adultes, par example, on ne propose guère que des crédits plus amples au système existant bien que celui-ci soit des plus critiquables et qu'il ne prenne pas en considération les besoins réels des groupes sociaux les plus défavorisés dont les membres n'ont reçu qu'une formation courte. Également, le Conseil national d'éducation cherche à minimiser et même à rendre idyllique l'accroissement de l'intervention de l'Etat et de l'orientation par le patronat des études supérieures.

L'90 ne prévoit pas d'améliorations essentielles parce que le Conseil central d'éducation ne prend pas comme point de repère les graves problèmes qui existent dans le système éducatif et qui frappent les personnes en voie de formation et la population entière.

Le Conseil central d'éducation considère les « problèmes » et les « modèles de solution » du point du vue de l'Etat et du patronat. L'U 90 ne vise donc pas à la réalisation de l'égalité et de la démocratie. Le « plan » est marqué par une confiance naïve dans la croissance, et il prêche l'idylle dans la société au lieu de reconnaître comment la politique de crise et le virage à droite se répercutent sur le secteur d'éducation sous forme d'une réduction des crédits et d'un resserrement de la discipline.

Toutes ces questions peuvent être étudiées plus en détail dans l'avis minoritaire concernant l'U 90 soumis par l'Union nationale des étudiants, avis qui traite également du contenu et de l'importance du système éducatif dans la société telle qu'elle est, et qui contient une critique du système éducatif du jardin d'enfants jusqu'à la formation des adultes ainsi qu'une esquisse des propositions faites par l'Union quant à une politique éducative ouvrant de plus amples perspectives.

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U90

The U-90 report is a framework for a long-term plan covering all sectors of the Danish educational system, seeking to relate educational development to the changing social and economic context.

The U-90 report is a 'framework' rather than a plan, as the Central Council of Education exercises neither political nor executive powers.

The U-90 report is meant to be a basis for a general debate in the Danish society on the future development of Danish education, and consequently it contains nearly all the elements on which the formulation of a national educational policy could be based.

The report contains a number of appendices in which experts discuss fundamental problems in educational policy-making.

The English version of the U-90 report also contains a summary in French.

Schultz Forlag
Møntergade 21
1116 Copenhagen K
Denmark

"[illegible]"

Dkr. 75,–
ISBN 87-569-6575-3

Un 80-594